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OBSERVATIONS
ON THE
REPORT
OF THE
Committee of Secrecy.

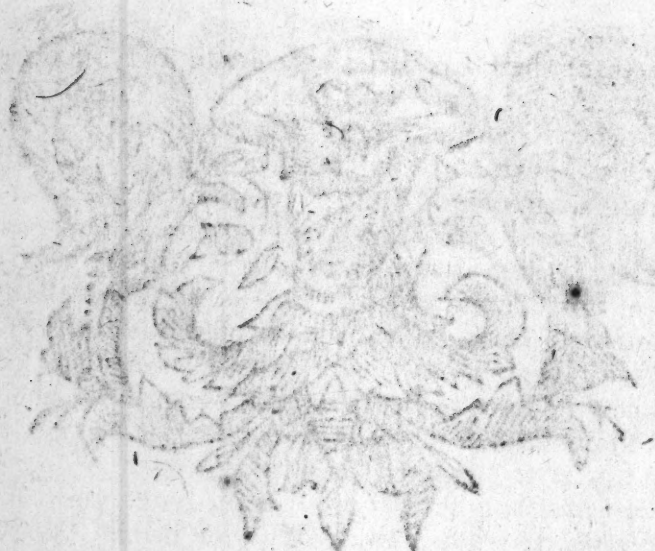


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OBSERVATIONS ON THE REPORT OF THE Committee of Secrecy.

I Was satisfy'd by the Accounts we had before the *Report* was publish'd, that it would be *Voluminous*, from the great Number of Papers which were laid before the *Committee*, and the abundant Matter that must necessarily be found in it on the Subjects of their Enquiries, the Male and Treacherous Administration of the late *Managers*. And being sensible, that some Men out of a Narrow Spirit would not Purchase the *Report* at large; that others out of Indolence would not read it over so exactly as it ought to be Read; and others out of Incapacity or Disaffection would make a wrong Judgment of Things, that required some Time to be well apprized of, I resolv'd to give the World a fair and short Representation of the Matter, with such *Observations* as tell naturally from the Subject; that every Body might readily and easily inform themselves of what it is so necessary they shou'd know, how we were Abus'd and Betray'd by the displaced *Ministers*. I never doubted but that the late blessed Treaty of *Peace* was *Clandestine* and *Separate*, from the Beginning; and it now appears to be so with a Vengeance; tho' at first the *Ministers* pretended to make some sort of *Communication* of it to the *States-General* by the *Secretary St. John's* Letter to the Lord *Raby* of the 27th of *April*, to accompany the Propositions *Monsieur de Torcy* sent from *France*, dated the 22d of the same Month; of which I must observe, that the French *Minister* himself Answers the Charge made by the late *Managers* against the *Dutch*, That they offered to treat privately and separately with *France*; and this they said to excuse their own doing it, as if they had done no more than the *Dutch* did before them, and were ready to do again. *M. de Torcy* on the contrary says in his *French Propositions*, *After the Experience the King has made of those who now govern the Republick of Holland, and of their Industry to render the Negotiations fruitless, he is willing for the Publick Good to Address to the English Nation.* Here the French King declares the *Dutch* Ministers to be faithful and firm to the *Common Cause*; and far from hearkning to any Terms Separately from their *Confederates*, they were always industrious in their Endeavours to carry on the War to reduce the Exorbitant Power of *France*. This Testimony is the strongest that can be to prove the Honesty and Sincerity of the *Dutch*, and that they never

did, and never would have enter'd into any *Separate Negotiation*, or any one at all in favour of *France*, had they not been forc'd to it by our Ministers. And why did not his most Christian Majesty think fit to Address to *England* before, when he had found the *Dutch* so steady in the Prosecution of that *Just and Necessary War*? We shall see, That in the Course of these *Observations*; which will shew, that he did it as soon as Men were employ'd in the *Ministry* in *England*, whose *Characters* and *Interests* were such, as he doubted not would dispose them to do any thing for his own Interest, on which theirs so much depended. These *Propositions* of Mr. *de Torcy* were so loose and general, that had not the *French King* been sure our *Ministers* wanted only to be ask'd, and he might have what he wou'd of them, he wou'd never have ventur'd to have impos'd such Stuff on them. He does not there offer to own the *Queen's Title*, or the Right of the *Protestant Successor*. He does not speak a word of the *Spanish Monarchy* in favour of the House of *Austria*; but in the IVth Article takes it for granted, that his Grandson King *Philip* is to remain King of *Spain*. He offers indeed to treat jointly with the *Dutch*, but that was because he cou'd not imagine the late *Ministers* wou'd betray their Country so far as to abandon *Allies* whose *Interests* their Sovereign declar'd *inseparable* from their own. But as ill as he thought of their Abilities and Integrity, he was mistaken; for we shall find that it came from our *Ministers* to have a *Clandestine* and *Separate Treaty*, that we insisted that it shou'd be such a one, before *France* durst presume to mention it: For Mr. *Prior* was order'd to enter into an Engagement with the *French Ministers*, that the Secret should be inviolably kept; and so indeed it was, for notwithstanding the *Queen* had, as the Lord *Raby* says, assur'd the *Dutch*, and by himself too, that *She wou'd make no Step towards a Peace, but in Concert with them*; yet did they never hear one word more of the Matter from our Ministers, till *Mefneger's* Seven Preliminary Articles, from which our Court, and the *French Court*, wou'd never depart, were conclud'd five Months after. Now I desire leave to demand of any Man in *Great Britain*, whether this is not only a notorious Breach of the Promise the *Ministers* had made to the *Dutch* by the Lord *Raby*; but what is worse, a most scandalous and fatal Infraction of the Eighth Article of the *Grand Alliance*, That neither of the *Allies* shall treat of Peace with the Enemy, but in *Conjunction and Communication with the other*. This therefore is an unquestionable Breach of the most Solemn Treaty, and a Falsification of her Majesty's Royal Word, which were attended with the most destructive Consequences, such as all the Confederates have felt, and are still feeling. And what the *Advisers* and *Adors* of such an Infamous and Ruinous Treaty are Guilty of, and Deserve, let every Man of common Sense and common Honesty determine. How Plumb these *Ministers* fell into this wicked Negotiation, may be seen by what the Lord *Raby* wrote to the *Secretary St. John*, *Tou may be sure, says he, I will venture any thing, and undertake any thing; you may venture boldly to trust me with the real Intentions*. God have mercy! This is something like. I will not ask whether this Peace be agreeable to the *Queen's Treaties* with Her *Allies*; I will not enquire into the *Advantages* that will accrue to *France* by it; I will not boggle at the *Addresses* of the *Parliament* against it. No, I will do any thing, and undertake any thing; and if you tell me what you will have done, I will not make farther use of it than you will have me, than according to my Instructions. Dispose of me how you please, all my desire is to serve to Satisfaction, and shall never grudge any Danger and Pains. What Danger cou'd there be in executing Orders for the good of our Country? 'Tis plain his Lordship did believe the *Secretaries real Intentions* were quite contrary, and there would be Danger in following his Instruction, but he would notwithstanding go thorough-stitch. And for what Reason? We have it in the very beginning of the Negotiations, He had begg'd of the *Queen* to be made an Earl, and it was granted immediately;

diately ; for Mr. *St. John* tells him, *Her Majesty had design'd to give him the Peerage he desir'd.* Nothing for nothing. 'Tis in Answer to this Letter of the Secretary, that the New *Earl* that was to be, gives himself, as one may say, *Body and Soul* to the late *Ministers* : For all this was done and said Four Months before he spoke one Syllable more of the Treaty to the *Dutch*, notwithstanding he had been in *England*, had got his *Earldom*, and did no doubt know Mr. *St. John's* real Intention. I think this is *venturing and undertaking anything* with a Witness. Tho' *Monsieur de Torcy* had sent over the *Propositions* before spoken of, yet we do not find that any Person above the Character of a *Letter-Carrier* had been in *England*. However, in the midst of the most glorious Successes that ever the Arms of a Nation were blest with, do the *Ministers* procure Mr. *Prior* to be sent to *France* with Instructions for Demands, which surely were never intended to be insisted upon, because some of those *Articles* were Contradictory to others, as particularly, *That all our Allies should be satisfy'd according to their Agreements and Treaties with us.*

Now by our *Treaties* with the *Emperor*, our *Treaties* with the *Dutch* and *Portugal*, *Spain* and the *West-Indies* were to be recover'd for the House of *Austria*, and no part of it to be left in the Possession of any Prince of the House of *Bourbon*. Yet is Mr. *Prior* order'd to propose a Treaty with King *Philip*, for he is to take special care of the full Powers from *Spain*.

Thus it appears, that Mr. *Prior* was the first *Agent* of the *Peace* that was employed in it ; that he was sent by our *Ministers* to *France* : And to be the first *Agents* in such a Business is *virtually* to sue for it. And that he was sent with Instructions to treat with *Philip* as King of *Spain*, contrary to all our solemn *Treaties*, contrary to all *Speeches* and *Declarations* from the *Throne*, contrary to all *Addresses* and *Representations* of the *Parliament* and *People* of *Great Britain* to that time, and contrary to the *Tenor*, *Interest*, and *Safety* of the *Nation*. This in my poor Opinion, is sufficient to make these *Agents* accountable to National Justice, and oblige *Prior* to bring forth the *Advisers* and *Promoters* of this dangerous Step, for they were all so cunning as to avoid setting their Names to such *Instructions*, and *Countersigning*, as is usual for *Ministers* to do ; contenting themselves with putting *A. R.* on the Top to skreen them from the Justice which it is hop'd will effectually pursue them.

What I shall take notice of in the next Place is very extraordinary, and that is, the *French King's* being more concern'd for the *Interest* of the *Allies* than our late *Managers*. *Monsieur Mesnager* had Orders to insist, That the *Queen* shou'd enter into *Engagements* upon divers *Articles* which regard the *Allies*. But our *Ministers* declare, *That the Principle upon which they had treated all along, and from which the Queen could never depart, was to adjust the Interest of Great Britain in the first Place, and remit the Discussion of the particular Interest of the Allies to another Time.* This they said was of absolute necessity. Pray let every honest Reader take special notice of this ; for that we were told afterwards from the *Throne*, that twas *Factionous* and *Seditious* to imagine there was a *separate Treaty*, and by the then *Lord Treasurer*, that such a Treaty would be *Foolish*, *Knavish*, and *Villainous*. We have now seen, that there not only was such a one, but that our *Ministers* wou'd have it so, after the *French* had offer'd first to treat jointly with the *Dutch*, &c. and then insisted upon it, to determine in the *Preliminaries* divers *Articles* which regard the *Interest* of the *Allies* ; but our *Ministers* would not it seems hear of it ; and they must not be angry with me, that their *Prime* the *Treasurer* called them *Fools*, *Knaves*, and *Villains* for it in the House of *Lords*.

I have observ'd, that Mr. *Prior* has been sent to *France*, and on what Errand, of which the *Dutch* knew nothing, tho' in *April*, Two Months before, our *Ministers* pro-

promis'd to do what they were oblig'd to do by *Treaties*, every Thing in *Concert* with them. And Four Months after that Promise Mr. Prior returns with a very fine Compliment upon his *Talents* by Monsieur Torcy, and brings with him Monsieur Mesnager, of which the *Dutch* still knew nothing. And without any previous *Authority* of the Queen to enter into so treacherous, so dishonourable, and ruinous a *Treaty*, the Earl of Oxford Lord Treasurer, the Lord Chamberlain, the Lord Dartmouth, Mr. St. John, and Mr. Prior, give him a Meeting to treat with the *common Enemy*, without *Concert*, against the Interest of our *Allies*. Accordingly, the 20th of September they met at Mr. Prior's House: And that they had not the Queen's *Authority*, appears by a Letter of Secretary St. John to Her Majesty, wherein he tells her of this Meeting as a Piece of News, which sure she wou'd have been better acquainted with had she given her Warrant for it. In this Letter of the Secretary's we have indeed an extraordinary Piece of News, that Mesnager's Preliminaries were as good as they had ever desir'd they should be; that those Terms were as advantageous for us as their own Hearts wish'd, and as Prior was order'd to demand; for he says, *They comply'd with every Article of his Demands, except the 8th relating to North America; which Point, he adds, they should be able to compound; but never did; all our Plantations in North America being left more expos'd to be destroy'd by the French than ever they were, as is known to every Soul that has any the least Knowledge of the Situation of our Affairs there.* That they had no *Authority* for this Meeting appears further by this very Letter, wherein Mr. St. John desires, *post facto*, that a Warrant and full Powers should be prepared for them, not only to treat but to sign. And there is something more in the same Letter of the 20th of September to the Queen, which Shows how they assum'd the *Authority Royal*. They take on them to name the *Plenipotentiaries* themselves at this Meeting. The Queen did not know who they were to be, till she saw a Warrant sent her to Sign, for the Lord Harcourt to put the Great Seal to a Commission for these *Plenipotentiaries*. The Secretary tells her Majesty that Prior is one of them, *and the rest are all those who have the Honour to sit in your Majesty's Cabinet Council.* This Warrant is dated the 17th of September Three Days before they met, and is thus ante-dated to justify that Meeting. What can be a plainer Proof of their acting on the 20th without Her Majesty's Authority? And will any one after this, pretend to excuse ever a one of those *Plenipo's* who assisted at it. But the Truth is, it appears, P. 5. That these secret Negotiations between France and the Queen's Ministers, were begun and carry'd on from the 11th of April to the 25th of September, 1711, without any Power's or written Authority from the Queen. So that the Treaty is the sole Act and Deed of those Ministers; who are further chargeable with it after they had procur'd these Powers, as the *Advisers* and *Promoters* of it. For Secretary St. John professes in the before-mention'd Letter, that the accepting of Mesnager's Articles was the *unanimous Opinion* of all the Ministers at the Meeting at Prior's; who however were so conscious of the Danger of appearing in so foul a Business that they wou'd not sign the Paper of *Acceptation* of Mesnager's Preliminaries, leaving it to the Two Secretaries; nor one Paper of Powers and Instructions during the whole Negotiation. Thus it is plain they knew what they were doing, and resolv'd from the very beginning to secure themselves by the A. R. on the Top of their Papers, whether the Queen knew of it or not.

The Preliminaries accepted of, occasion'd such a Clamour that I shall not enter into a particular Examination of them: When they were afterwards put into the Offers of France at Utrecht, they were term'd *Arrogant* and *Injurious* to Her Majesty, by the Lord Halifax and other Peers in the House of Lords; and an Address was presented against them. 'Tis sufficient to be observ'd, that the *Demolition* of Dunkirk and

and the *Assiento* were the only *Articles* which look'd favourably for *England*; and how we were to be bubbled in both, has appear'd so flagrantly since, that those Two *Articles* are become a new Charge against the late *Ministers*, by their selling our *Commerce* to *Spain*, and suffering the *French King* to build a stronger *Harbour* within 100 Yards of *Dunkirk*. The *Ministers* own that *Monsieur de Torcy* had promis'd them better Things, real *Securities*, P. 6. but for the Love of Peace they will consent to what they confess is none, to accept of an *Equivalent* instead of *Places*; and they press the *French Court* to adjust these *Articles*; not because they are for the Interest of *England*, which was never in their *Hearts*, but because they might have nothing more to dispute with then, and be enabled to serve them, under Pretence, That *France* had agreed to every Thing desir'd by *England*, that they might engage the *Queen* to make the Conclusion of the General Peace easy to *France*. These scandalous *Articles* were thought by *France* more than she need give Us, we having expos'd our selves by entering into so treacherous a *Negotiation* with Her; and if the *Queen* did not now do as the *French King* thought fit, " He had it in his Power, by divulging the Secret, " and discovering such a notorious Breach of National Faith, to make what Advantage " he pleas'd of it among the *Allies*, who must from this Time think themselves disgraced from the *Queen*, if they could find their own Account by looking after " themselves, p. 67.

The Truth is, the *French* treated their New *Friends* as a Parcel of *Scoundrels*, whose Characters and Safety were not worth minding. And on purpose to make still a better Market of them, they themselves did what our *Ministers* would not do, inform the *Dutch*, that they had begun a *Negotiation* with *England*, as may be seen in a Letter of Lord *Raby's*, of the 20th of *June*. When such Steps as these had been taken, what could they hope to do for the Interest of the *Allies*? They had put it into the Power of *France* at once to give the *Law* in the Peace; and their whole Proceedings shew that this was their Design at the Commencement of it, to weaken the *Confederates*, and leave the *French King* in a Capacity to begin a New War, when it was convenient to Support the *Pretender*, whose *Ministers* they doubtless were as ready to be, as the Servants of the *Prince* they were betraying: If it is Treason to betray Her Council to Her Enemy.

For before Her Majesty had declar'd that she was about so much as entering into a Treaty of Peace to Her *Confederates*, does Mr. *St. John* write to *Monsieur de Torcy*, p. 7. That he had fully inform'd Mr. *Mesnager* of what the *Earl of Strafford* was to tell the *States of Holland*. This *Mesnager* was the Minister of the *Queen's Enemy*, with whom she was at War, and against whom she order'd the same *States* to be told Six Months after, That she had commanded Her General to Act with the utmost Vigour. If this is not treasonable, I believe the Lawyers will find it very hard to cut Treason out of *Politicks*. The Lord *Strafford* was at the same time to carry with him a New Scheme for carrying on the War against the *Prince*, to whose Minister Mr. *St. John* had given such full Informations. — For God's Sake let me know if there is any Name for this Crime but what is *Capital*.

It having been urged, That the *Dutch* were as willing to come into the Treaty as We; that they approved of the *French Preliminaries* with respect to themselves, and were not forc'd to comply with the *Queen* against their Inclination and Interest: Let it be remembred, That after they were made acquainted with the Progress of the *Negotiations*, and Passports were demanded of them for *French Plenipotentiaries* to come to treat of a Peace; before they would grant them they set *Monsieur Buys* to complain of her Majesty's Resolutions about their Trade and Barrier. They did the same to the Lord *Strafford*; but Mr. *St. John* wrote to him, the *Queen* was determin'd in Her Measures,

Measures, so early as the 9th of *October*; and the 22d of *November*, That the *Queen* would not concert the *Plan* of the *War* unless they join with Her to open the *Conferences*; and the Lord *Strafford*, who had promis'd to undertake any Thing, and venture any Thing, declar'd to them, The *Queen* would look upon any Delay as a *Refusal*. Thus were they bully'd out of *Passports*; and their *Interests*, which were so inseparable from our own, abandon'd to the Discretion of Monsieur de *Torcy*, &c. and Mr. *St. John*, &c.

One may well imagine, That enough has been said of our acting in *Concert*; however, I shall give one Instance more of it, which is a very extraordinary one. Two Months after *Mesnager* had been in *England*, and it was reported that Her Majesty had taken Care of all the *Interests* of the *Allies*, a *Memorial* was given to the Abbot *Gualtier*, and a Letter written by Mr. *St. John* to Monsieur de *Torcy*, to desire that the most Christian King would explain himself as to his *Intention*, with respect to the *Interest* of the *Allies*; for they were entirely Ignorant of those very *Interests* which they had assured the World they had amply provided for. And in the same Letter, Mr. *St. John* tells the *French* Secretary, That if he would let the *Queen* know those his Majesty's *Intentions*, p. 8. She would never communicate it to Her *Allies*; to whom Her Majesty was bound to communicate all such *Transactions*, and to do every Thing in *Conjunction*, and by *Communication* with them, as has been sufficiently proved already.

In the Answer to Mr. *St. John*'s *Memorial*, far from taking Care of the *Interests* of the *Allies*, the Emperor is stripped of all his *Dominions* in *Italy*, an nothing is said of the *Netherlands*, &c. Yet this Declaration is received with great Satisfaction. Mr. *St. John* writing to Monsieur de *Torcy*, That it was necessary all those that wish'd well to the *Peace* should mutually help one another, and endeavour to finish the *Treaty* so soon as not to be expos'd to another Campaign, p. 1. Monsieur de *Torcy* must Help him, and He must Help Monsieur de *Torcy*, while the Earl of *Strafford* is venturing and undertaking every Thing to force the *Confederates* into the Measures the *French* and *English* Ministers are helping one another to Accomplish.

Tho' Mr. *Prior* was, in his private Instructions, to be very careful to get full Powers from the King of *Spain*, yet the Bishop of *Bristol*, and the Earl of *Strafford*, in their Instructions as *Plenipotentiaries* at *Utrecht*, p. 9. are enjoyned to insist publicly that *Spain* and the *West-Indies* should not be allotted to any Branch of the House of *Bourbon*, notwithstanding this Point had been given up privately Six Months before.

At the same Time that the Earl of *Strafford* was insulting the *States*, Monsieur *Gualtier* assures our Ministers that His Master's principal Order to His *Plenipotentiaries* when they set out for *Utrecht*, was to establish a strict Intimacy between them, and the Ministers of the *Queen* of Great Britain, p. *Ibid*.

I have observed more than once, what was the Earl of *Strafford*'s Conduct in *Holland*. I must observe further, That upon the *French* Ministers delivering in their first Offers at *Utrecht*, and those of the *Allies* receiving them with Indignation, he writes that the *French* wish they had offered to Demolish *St. Venant*, p. 10. But our Ministers far from requiring such an Article, continued their strict Intimacy on the old Plan, and would not let the *French* do so much for the *Allies* as they themselves were willing to do to hasten the *Peace*. The Earl adds, he had press'd the *French* *Plenipotentiaries* to be as ample as they could in their Explication, not to serve the *Interests* of the *Confederates*; not for the Honour of his Mistress, who had bound her self, and promis'd again and again to Support them; not that he desir'd they should do what they said; but to stop the Mouths of the *Whigs*, who rail'd at their Offers in *England*, and amuse the *English*, and all the *Allies*. His Words are, To strike the Minds of Unthinking People, and make some Work for Reflection for the Faction, p. *Ibid*. By Unthinking People, his Lordship does not mean Fools, but those that could not think it was possible

possible that this Nation could produce a Set of Men, who after such an Immense Loss of Blood and Treasure, would enter into a *strict Intimacy* with the French, to destroy all the good Effects of it, and put the Affairs of *Confederacy* upon a Worse Foot than they were after the Peace of *Ryswick*.

We all remember what Pains were taken to procure a *House of Commons* that would do the Work of the then *Managers*; what Tumults; what Riots; what Bribery; what Partiality of Returning Officers: Yet that very *House of Commons* were shock'd at the Proceedings of those *Managers*, till by some Means or other they were perfectly secured to the *Queen's Interest*, as the Secretary writes to the *Plenipotentiaries*; and adds, *He thinks he may say they are so now*. Tho' this *Management* could not but be very grateful to the *French Court*, yet to secure the *House of Commons* was not thought sufficient in *France*, unless the *House of Lords* was as perfectly secured also. Therefore *Monsieur de Torcy* says, by *Abbot Gualtier*, p. 10. *The King of France assured himself, that those who now manage with so much Capacity the Affairs of the Queen of Great Britain know how to curb the Passion of the Turbulent Party in the other House*. The surest Way to cheat a Man, is to flatter him on his *Cunning*; and this Method was practis'd by the *French* with respect to the late *Ministers*. *Prior* is extoll'd for his *Talents*. *St. John* for his *Genius and Vivacity*; tho' the *French* were all the while making the greatest Fools of them that ever Men were made. The Hint of curbling the *Turbulent Party in the House of Lords*, which came from the *French King*, was followed by making a whole Dozen of Peers in a Morning, and was a Proceeding worthy the *Maxims* of the Prince that hinted it.

Mr. Harley, another Man of *Talents*, is sent over to meet *Mr. Gualtier* at *Utrecht*, and to carry the *Queen's first Instructions*, in Expectation of which, the *British Plenipotentiaries* are at a Stop. In the mean Time a Conference is held between the *Ministers* of the *Allies*, at which they were to produce their Demands. All of them insisted on the restoring *Spain and the Indies to the House of Austria* except the *British*, whose Instructions we have spoken of before. They did not at this Conference make the least mention of it; which they themselves thought so very Offensive, that to take off this Odium, the *Bishop of Bristol* own'd Her Majesty insisted on a just and reasonable Satisfaction for all Her *Allies*, &c. And to excuse his giving a kind of a Hint of *Spain*, the Two *Plenipotentiaries* humbly hope, in their Letter of the 6th of *March 1711-12*. That it will not be taken ill, because *Just and Reasonable* does not import any New Obligation. I mention this, for that the Terms *Just and Reasonable* were always made use of when the Satisfaction for the *Allies* was touch'd upon; as *Safe and Honorable*, was us'd when *Peace* was spoken of; and both, as the *Plenipo's* observe, to signify nothing. Indeed all the Formality of treating at *Utrecht* was Grimace, and the *Bishop and Earl* says as much in their Letter, p. 11. *The French Plenipotentiaries say they knew well, their Business was not to be done at Utrecht, but by a Negotiation carry'd on directly betwixt London and Versailles*. Which is another Instance of our *Acting in Concert*, and providing for the Interest of our *Allies*. The Truth is, every Step of that Negotiation was false and effected, as it concern'd Us and the *Confederacy*.

A few Days after *Harley* and *Gualtier* arrive at *Utrecht*, the *French Plenipotentiaries* communicate to the *Bishop and Earl* a Plan for a General Peace, under the Highest Obligations of *Secrecy*. The *British Plenipo's* take it as a general Mark of Confidence *France* had in them, and promise according to the Sacred Laws of *Concert*, that the *Allies shall not know a Word of it*, p. 11. The good Men go so far as to send it to the Secretary with the same Caution, tho' it had been first agreed upon in *England*, and sent by *Harley* to *Utrecht*, and so by *Gualtier* to *France*. No Communication of this Plan was made to the States, tho' their Interests and the Interests of all the *Allies* were settled by it. *Mr. Harley* is ordered to let drop the Offer of 15 per Cent on *British Manufactures*, one of the Bribes to *England* to come into this Destructive Peace. But tho' it was

owing entirely to the Insincerity of France, *Tet 'twas to be done in such a Manner as to render this constrained Concession of the Queen's a Means of bringing the Dutch to Reason, and to a Compliance with Her Majesty's Measures*, p. 12. which they had no Knowledge of. The French Ministers all this while suspended the Conferences, by refusing to answer the Demands of the Allies; and the Earl of Strafford being sent for to England, he who was to venture and undertake any Thing, has fresh Instructions, wherein he is order'd to tell the Dutch when he gets to Holland again, That unless they come immediately into the Queen's Measures, and acted openly and sincerely, She would look upon Her Self to be under no Obligation whatsoever to them. 'Tis to be question'd whether this adventurous Enterprizing Plenipo knew much more of the Matter, than that the Dutch knew nothing of it at all; yet he boldly undertakes this Message, and makes this Sort of renouncing our Alliance with the Dutch, before ever we had come to a Conclusion of any Treaty with France, no, not that of a Cessation of Arms. This Declaration was to prepare the Way for the Latter to be introduced by a Desertion from the Army of the Allies, which was the Part the Duke of Ormond was to Act in this Honourable Affair.

I shall now treat of the above mentioned Cessation of Arms, and the Renunciation of King Philip of the Crown of France, &c. The Monarchy of Spain was all along promis'd to be restored to the House of Austria in the Publick Acts of our Court; in the Private Ones with France the Treaty had been a Foot almost a Twelve-month before our Ministers said a Syllable of it; and then instead of taking Spain and the West Indies from the House of Bourbon, they only demand as a solid Security for the Balance of Power, and the Liberties of Europe, that the Two Monarchies of France and Spain should be never united, and desired no other Security for that Demand but King Philip's Renunciation. This Expedient was the Invention of the late Managers; and they were not acquainted with the Sense of either France or Spain upon it. When they started it in their Answer to a Memorial brought by Monsieur Gualtier, the 23d of March, 1711. Monsieur Torcy declares in the strongest Terms, That such a Renunciation would signify nothing, as being Null by the Laws of France. And St. John says in Answer to it, *We are ready to believe you are persuaded in France that God alone can abolish the Law upon which your Right of Succession is founded*. Yet does he insist upon it as a Solid Foundation, and threatens that a Stop will be put to the Negotiations of Peace unless that Expedient, which was the Queen's own Proposal, be accepted of, or something equally Solid, P. 13. Something of the Solidity of a Thing, which however should accept of it would deceive themselves to receive it as a sufficient Expedient to prevent the Union of the Two Crowns, as Monsieur de Torcy said himself. Yet did our Ministers push on this Renunciation as if it had been the most Solid Business that could be invented; tho' the French King, as honest a Man as his Grandson, had broken Twenty Renunciations already to the same Purpose; and Mr. St. John had fair warning given him, that all the Renunciations then demanded would be served in the same Manner. With much ado, and after several Letters had past from one Secretary to another on this Subject, the Frenchman comes into Mr. St. John's Expedient; and it is agreed between them, that King Philip for the sake of Peace shall do a Thing, which when done, would be of no manner of signification. If he would not renounce, he must quit Spain and accept of the Duke of Savoy's Territoties, who in such Case was to have the Spanish Monarchy. The Emperor, for whom we had been fighting Ten Years, is not so much as named even in this Foolish, Impertinent Scheme, worthy the wise Head that made it, for cou'd the Secretary have any doubt that Philip would not give him a Renunciation, rather than part with Spain and the Indies? I really believe he would have given it him for a Windmill, the Portion of Spain he denied the Allies before he had been beaten by them. While Torcy is laughing at St. John's ridiculous

culous *Expedient*, the latter is very gravely insisting upon it; but before he shall be sure of this good-for-nothing Security, this *sandy solidity*, he must be brought to consent to a *Cessation of Arms*; for it would be very unhappy, says *Torcy* when he tells him the *French King* had at last agreed to that notable Alternative, if any Event during the Campaign should fall out to disturb the good Dispositions that are seen at present for establishing the Publick Repose; that is, if his Master's Army should be well bang'd again; for it cou'd not enter into their Thoughts to beat the Allies; in such Case the *Emperor* and the *Dutch* wou'd be sure not to come into the *Queen's Measures*, but do their own Business themselves. We shall find that our Court took effectual care, thanks to the *Duke of Ormond*, to hinder any such unhappy Event as the *French Secretary* speaks of. Aftoon's ever Secretary *St. John*, had got the Promise only of this his solid Security, he sent Orders to our Plenipo's to declare to the *Dutch*, That the *Queen* was now under no further Obligations whatsoever to them.

There was but one Expedient which could have made this *Renunciation* any tolerable Security, and that was by a general Guaranty of all the Confederates. This was render'd impracticable by our Usage of them, their Jealousies of us, and the little confidence they had in us: But if that Security could have been made better than it was, our Ministers wou'd not have had it. For the *British Plenipotentiars* suggesting to the Secretary *St. John*, upon some Discourse with *Mareschal de Uxelles* at *Utrecht* that it wou'd be proper for *Philip* to renounce also the *Regency of France*; that good Man did not so much as mention it, for fear of obstructing the Negotiations: For *France* he knew wou'd give 'em nothing more than the useless Words she had promis'd them.

The Secretary did not manage this Affair wholly by himself; the Treasurer wrote also to *Torcy* about it, and had done it oftner, had it not been for his Sore Eyes; which the *Frenchman*, no sooner heard of, but it grieves him to the Soul, and he earnestly prays he may soon recover: It being very important, says the *Frenchman* that those who like *Mr. St. John* and Him had had the principal Share in the Work of the Peace, should have the Glory of finishing it. And may they, Oh Righteous Heaven have also the Reward!

I have also hinted, that immediately upon the Receipt of *Monfieur de Torcy's* Letter with the *French King's* Promise to get the *Renunciation* from his Grandson, the *British General* is taken in to act his Part; and Orders are sent him by *Mr. Secretary* to avoid engaging in a Siege, or hazarding a Battle. Which Orders that Popular Duke obey'd without Hesitation, and with as much Satisfaction as if it had been to have marched to *Paris*. But those Orders are to be disguis'd; the General is to deal doubly with the Generals of the Confederate Army, to prevent their taking any certain and effectual Measures for the good Operations of the Campaign. At the same time that they are to be kept from the Allies they are communicated to the *French*; and *St. John* writes to *Prior*, to value himself upon it to *Monfieur de Torcy*: I will not say that this Order sav'd the *French Army* from being beat, but I think in my Conscience that it did.

The next Thing we find this worthy Secretary corresponding with the *French Minister* about, is, What a Sort of Speech the *Queen* shou'd make to the Parliament, to whom she had promis'd to communicate the Terms of Peace. True it was, those Terms were then not settled; any more than they were at first by *Prior* and *Messenger*, and the Nation having declar'd their Abhorrence of them, it was necessary they should be well gloss'd upon to pass even in that High Church Parliament. So *St. John* sends Heads of the intended Speech to *Torcy*; and further Demands about our Trade to *North-America*, *Dunkirk*, &c. Thus we see that the famous Speech which open'd the Articles of Peace, was in some measure dictated by the *French* themselves. Tho' we had been told a Hundred Times that our Trade was provided for, yet by this Scheme the discussing of it was postpon'd; and *Mr. St. John* having demanded, to colour the

Matter the better, that the *Dutch* should put a Garifon into *Cambrai*, for a *Suspension of Arms*, *Torcy* absolutely denies it, and insists upon it with a very high Tone, that we should without delay procure a *Cessation of Arms*, General or Particular. He is surprized to hear a Word said in favour of the *Dutch*, which was only a Feint to amuse the Parliament; and desires that the *Negotiations* might be carryed on as they were begun, with an entire Confidence in on another, upon the *Bona Fide*, to use his own Words. 'Tis necessary, adds he, the *Queen* should banish all distrust, and repose an entire Confidence in his Majesty, without insisting on Demands, which may serve only to create Jealousies. If any the least Thing was ask'd for our selves, or our Confederates, the *French King* grew jealous immediately: And how did our Ministers behave themselves to get him, out of such Fits? Why they did what he would have them. Accordingly Mr. *St. John* writes to Mr. *de Torcy*, the Day the *Queen* made her *Peace Speech*, that her Majesty would not defer going to the Parliament, and saying what he had intimated before, tho' the *King of France* had not answered Her Demands, which were trivial enough God-wot, after the Proposal about *Cambrai* was rejected and given up: But if Monsieur *de Torcy* will get those Demands agreed to, chiefly about delivering up *Dunkirk*, and in the manner we had it delivered to us; if he wou'd himself give the *Duke of Ormond* an Account of it, they would then throw of the Mask. And P. 17. Thenceforth openly joyn with France, and give Law to those who would not submit to their Conditions. He makes use of the Epithets just and reasonable; but I have shewn already, and it is sufficiently known, that those Epithets, as made use of by the late Ministers, meant either nothing or the quite contrary.

We will not lay all the Load on this Honest Secretary, let others have a share of it; and let the Reader take it along with him, that whatever it is to execute Orders, to Advise them is Cognizable and Punishable by the Laws and Practice of England. The Earl of *Strafford* complaining to this Secretary of the Backwardness of the *Dutch* to come into the *Queen's Peace*, an Excellent Phrase they had found out to Guard it from the Reflections and Curses of the People, Advises the Declaring a *Cessation of Arms* so early as April, 1712. and upon these Groundless Allegations:

The French are better Posted than we are; their Army is stronger; the Imperialists will not come up till June; and we shall get by this Cessation. I am satisfy'd there is not one Reader in a Thousand so little acquainted with the Posture of Affairs at that Juncture, but he can tell what Judgment to make of the Sincerity and Merit of this Advice.

The Cessation however did not take Effect till the Renunciation was settled; and then the Secretary writes to the *Duke of Ormond*, That if he receiv'd an Account from Mons. *de Torcy*, that the *Queen's Demands* about *Dunkirk*, and the Renunciation were answer'd, he was to own he cou'd act no longer against France. The Account is to come from the *French Court*; and that Court thought themselves so sure of us, that they sent it Unsign'd, as the *Duke* owns in his Conduct: They did not care how they dealt by our late Ministers and Generals; they were not Ignorant that they had done what they could not Answer, and so made 'em go on doing till they had got their Ends by them.

It is a Maxim in Law, That no Weaker Obligation can disoblige a Stronger; and it is the same in good Politicks. Now the *Duke of Ormond* being enjoind by his Instructions, Sign'd by the *Queen* her Self, to Concert the Measures for Action with the Confederate Generals, and to carry on the War with Vigour; let any one judge whether His Grace was discharged from his first Instructions Sign'd by the *Queen* Her Self, by Letters from Secretary *St. John*. 'Tis true, those Instructions did order him to Correspond with the Secretary, and so is every one order'd to do who is sent abroad by the State: That Correspondence implies only the giving and receiving Advice, and not Orders for Action or Non-Action.

St. John presently breaks in upon his *Mistress's Instructions*, and instead of meeting *Prince Eugene*, and acting in Concert with him, as those *Instructions* enjoins ; this hopeful Secretary, in the first Letter we meet with of his to the Duke, and before he knew whether *Philip* would favour him with his *Insignificant Renunciation* or not, writes to our General to be jealous of *Prince Eugene*, to be cautious of engaging in *Action* ; and for fear his Grace should not tell how to carry himself on such an Occasion, he puts an Excuse into his Mouth, *You may pretend to wait till the German Troops are all arriv'd, that they may have their share, if there is to be any Action*, p. 18.

The Duke acts an extraordinary Part in what follows : He owns *he was enjoin'd to prosecute the War with Vigour*, but hopes to have a Messenger before the Armies are form'd. And what can he hope for by this Messenger, but a contrary Order not to Act ; which having receiv'd afterwards, he writes two Letters to the Secretary, one to be seen by himself only, and another to shew to all the World : In the former, he says, *He will keep the Order he has, not to engage in a Siege or Battel, Secret ; he will endeavour to hinder its being suspected ; he will oppose all Proposals that shou'd be made for undertaking any thing*. In the latter, he on the contrary values himself on the good Condition of the British Troops, which must convince all the Allies how groundless the Complaints are, that have been made of our Backwardness. Oh my God ! Is not to refuse engaging in a Siege or Battel, to oppose all Proposals for undertaking any thing, to be backward ? But those Orders are to be kept secret, and so Secret, that not all the Ministers in England must know any thing of it ; and therefore the General in this Letter adds, *If we find an opportunity to bring the Enemy to a Battel, we shall not decline it*. Yet had he Orders in his Pocket to engage in no Battel or Siege. What is Honour, what is Conscience, if these Things and those are reconcilable ? Tho' the Allies were to know nothing of those Secret Orders, Marshal *Villars* had timely Notice of them ; and writing to the Duke of *Ormond*, after having complimented his Grace on his Valour, he tells him, they were to be no longer Enemies. These Frenchmen knowing the particular Foible of every one of our late Managers, and what each picqu'd himself of most, never fail'd to flatter and coax them on those Heads. Thus they begin with extolling *St. John's Vivacity*, *Harley's Capacity*, *Prior's Genius*, and in this Letter his Grace has an Encomium on his Valour. So that one may very well say the English Ministers, considering what they were doing for Themselves and their Country, were tickl'd to Death by the French.

I do not enter into the Detail of his Grace's refusing to fight *Villars*, when, as *St. John* said, *He believ'd in his Conscience he might have beat him* ; because that's a most melancholy Affair ; the whole of our Ruin and Infamy turn'd upon it ; and it is too well known to admit of being further expatiated upon ; only I find that he gave early Advice to the Marshal, *That the Motion the Confederate Army made, was only for Subsistence, and that he need be under no Apprehension at their March* ; which was to give the Enemy Intelligence of the Motions of the Army of the Allies before he talk'd of leaving them. He afterwards gives him Information that the Generals of the Auxiliaries paid by the Queen would not leave *Prince Eugene*. Tho' the Account he receiv'd from *Monf. de Torcy*, which was sent him by *Villars*, had no Name to it ; tho' there were several Alterations in the Answer to the Queen's Demands, which his Grace had no Notice of ; yet did he remain in a State of Inaction, while the Army of the Allies besieg'd *Quesnoy* : And the Answer sent him by *Torcy* and *Villars*, not being agreeable to the Scheme he was inform'd of, and as he was to declare a Cessation, had it been comply'd with, doubtless his Grace might, without breaking *St. John's* Order, have follow'd Her Majesty's ; but he chose rather to let the Confederates act against France by themselves, and wait till *St. John* had given him new Orders to desert them.

The Auxiliaries refusing to abandon the Army of the Allies to the Mercy of their Merciless Enemies, puzzled our Court a little. But we were so mad after this mad Peace,

Peace, that no *Affronts*, no *Baulks*, had any Effect on us; and the *Secretary* writes to *Torcy*, *Her Majesty has taken a firm and unalterable Resolution, not to yield to any Difficulties*. You must know that by *Difficulties* are always meant in the Style of the late Ministers, *Memorials of the Injustice and Treachery of their Negotiations; Refusals of the French to do what they promis'd at first for Us and our Allies; Representations of Parliament against the Arrogance and Abuses of the French Ministers; and in short, every thing Just and Reasonable to put a Stop to our Destruction by that Infamous Treaty*. In this Letter of *St. John* to *Torcy*, he gives him Intelligence, That if the *British Troops* leave the *Allies*, they were so poor they could not pay the *Auxiliaries*. He begs him to get the *Renunciation*, and an Order for the Delivery of *Dunkirk*. And what is the most unparallel'd Instance of a Scandalous and Traiterous Conduct, he desires *Torcy*, the Minister of a Prince still an Enemy to his Mistress, p. 22. *To send an Express to the Duke of Ormond, that he may know how to regulate his Conduct*. A Copy of this Letter did he enclose in one to his Grace; and adds by way of Postscript, *I need not caution your Grace that the inclos'd for Mons. de Torcy is fit to fall under the Eye of no Person whatsoever but your Grace*, who it seems had full Communication of the Secret, and did not act with such blind Obedience to the *Secretary's Orders* as some imagine.

It is to be observed that the Motion of the *Cessation*, and all the irregular Steps in these *Negotiations*, came first from *England*. This *Cessation* was a most flagrant *Separate Treaty*; yet is *France* very importunate with our Court about it, to desire our *Allies*, and only leave 'em time to submit to the Conditions that shall be agreed on for them between *France* and *England*; all which was comply'd with on our Part as soon as an Order came for some of our Troops to be admitted to keep Company with some of the *French Kings* in *Dunkirk*.

Upon the Duke of *Ormond's* leaving the Confederate Army, the *Marshal de Villars* desires his Grace will give him Information, *what Generals and what Troops* would stay with him; that knowing the Strength of the *Allies*, he might fight them, *as his Army had a great desire to do*, now the *British Forces* were not with their *Confederates*. The Duke does not resent the *Mareschal's* desiring such an ungenerous Action, not to say worse; but says in Answer, "He should be glad he cou'd give him all the Insight he desires, which he shou'd be capable of doing the next Day. And accordingly he did it, and sends *Villars* an Account, what Troops he had left with the Confederate Army, what taken with him; that he had drawn off all the *British Artillery*, and acquainted Prince *Eugene*, he cou'd give him no Assistance; as also, that the Pay of the Foreign Troops was stopt, and the Emperor and the Dutch could not support the Charge, p. 23. adding, "I trust, Sir, to your good Faith. And all this before a *Cessation of Arms* was declar'd. I think it will not bear Reflection. *Villars* is not satisfy'd in his Letter, to say they are no longer *Enemies*, but Exaggerates and tells the Duke, *He looks upon him as an Ally*; the *Cessation* not yet Proclaim'd.

What must have been the Consequence of the Duke's carrying off all the Foreigners in *British Pay* with him, as was expected by *France*, and promis'd by *England*? What might not *Villars* have done with Prince *Eugene* first, and with the Duke himself afterwards; for to trust to *French Faith* is such a Jest, as to take Pity from the Man that suffers by it?

The Earl of *Strafford*, who is so admirable a Politician, that he pretended to have more Wit than the Duke of *Ormond*, prevail'd with his Grace to send a Messenger to Prince *Eugene* to complain of his leaving the Queen's Forces, who were expos'd by his marching to the Siege of *Landrecy*. Thus wou'd he have impos'd on Mankind, whom he must take to be as stupid as the World took some of his Friends to be, or he wou'd not have attempted so absurd a thing. This Earl and Plenipo, to shew his Talent at Joking on so merry an occasion as the Duke's Deserting the *Confederates*, and abandon-

abandoning them to be Massacred by the French, writes, after the Britains had left the Army of the Allies. *There are two or three very sower Faces, who sigh and wish the Hanoverians had not separated from us.* And when he was talking with Mons. Bulau, about the Danger the Queen's Troops had been left in by Prince Eugene; the Earl upon that General's saying, The Hanover Troops would have assisted them had they been Attack'd, Reply'd, *It would be very odd when an Elector of the Empire should be a sufficient Protection for Great Britain.* This jesting Earl was in a more serious Vein, when he told the same General, That the Queen had yet made neither Peace nor Truce with France, a Month after the Articles for a Truce or Cessation of Arms were Sign'd, p. 24. We have seen before what this Plenipo was to venture and to undertake.

Enough has been said of the Renunciation. We all know enough of Dunkirk, for which our Confederates were deserted, and the Confederacy broken. Let us see how the Ancient Amity between France and England was about to be restor'd. Villars tells the Queen's General, he looks upon him as an Ally: And the Duke of Ormond hearing of a Design the Dutch had to surprize Furnes or Newport, as they had done Fort Knocque, gives it as his humble Opinion, that some means should be found to inform Marshal Villars of it.

After all that we have mention'd of the Engagements the Queen lay under to restore the whole Spanish Monarchy to the House of Austria, if we had not observ'd that it was given to the Duke of Anjou, one should wonder to hear St. John tell Torcy, That it is neither for the Interest of Great Britain, nor France, that the Kingdom of Sicily should be given to the House of Austria. What care does he take of the Interests of France? As to the Interests of England, he knew nothing of them, if he thought 'twas against them to give Sicily to the Emperor. It would have strengthened him in the Mediterranean and Italy, and whatever Strength is Formidable there, in opposition to France and Spain, is for the English Interest. The true Reason why Sicily must not be given to the Emperor was, because 'twas promised to the Duke of Savoy for coming into the Queen's Measures: And therefore does St. John say, There is none whose Interest the Queen has so much at Heart as the Duke of Savoy's. He must by any means be engag'd to come into all their Measures, and the Queen demands Sicily for him, declaring She will not desist from this Demand. Thus it was Great Britain that parcel'd out the Dominions of Spain from the House of Austria, for whom She had so solemnly engag'd to recover the whole Monarchy.

The Duke of Savoy had so much Honour, that he was shock'd at the Proposal the Earl of Peterborough made him, to accept of Sicily in Consideration of his coming into the Queen's Measures. The Earl wrote to the Secretary, the Duke was not so vainly impatient of the Title of King, as to lose or hazard any real Interest for an empty Name. Had our Ministers had the least Grain of Honesty or Modesty, they would have blush'd at what the Earl writes further of the Duke of Savoy, He thinks it very Extraordinary, that a Prince beaten Ten Years together by his Enemies, should remain at last with the Prize contended for. Our Secretary wrote to the French King, That Care should be taken to protect the Duke from the Insults of the Imperialists. We were very officious in any thing that weaken'd the Emperor. The Duke of Savoy himself is in no such Pain: He is not only for giving Sicily, but all the Spanish Monarchy to him: And the Earl of Peterborough, before he can bring him to accept of the Crown we wou'd take from the House of Austria to give to him, is forc'd to represent to him the dreadful Consequences of falling out: With whom? With the English Ministers. A Set of such — that all the World might well be afraid of them. That Sober Earl adds, he had excus'd those Ministers from the Reproaches cast directly upon them in the Court of Turin, that they were devoted to France. Every Body cou'd see it but our Queen and our Parliament. This Representation so frighted His Royal Highness, that against his Will he comply'd with our Terms of Peace, and took the Kingdom. Our Ministers voluntarily offer'd to Guaranty Sicily, which naturally would have engag'd us in a War with the Emperor; but would never hear of a Guaranty for the Protestant Succession, tho' it had been address'd for by both Houses of Parliament.

Torcy

Torcy pretends to be so well acquainted with the then Disposition of our Court, that writing to *St. John* after the *Massacre* of the Confederates at *Denain*, occasion'd by the Desertion of the *British Forces*, he says, he doubts not the "Queen would take Pleasure in the Advantage the *French King's Troops* had obtain'd." For which, had he been Her Majesty's Subject, he ought to have been Hang'd. But as has been said before, he thinks himself sure of the *English Ministers*; of which one cannot doubt, when in Two or Three Letters dispatch'd soon after one another, upon the Rout at *Denain*, he desires, That the D. of *Ormond* might be order'd to "keep Possession of *Ghent* and *Bruges*; to promote the Measures of *France*; to put a stop to Count *Staremberg's* Projects in *Catalonia*; and to order the *English Fleet* in the *Streights* not to molest the *French*, p. 27. All which was done, and no sooner ask'd than comply'd with, tho' the Peace was not concluded till many Months after.

As the taking of *Ghent* and *Bruges* was one of the greatest Services that could be done to the *French Army*, let us enquire who was the adviser of it. We shall surely find him to be some adventurous enterprizing Politician; and indeed it is no less. It is the Earl of *Strafford* himself; I am for having the Duke of *Ormond* march to *Ghent*, says he, in Two Letters to Secretary *St. John*. He was then in the Duke's Army; and he adds, The Duke is himself very hearty, but he has some Fools about him, Men not capable of giving Advice; which he was, and the very same that Monsieur de *Torcy* had given before, but we were come to such a Pass now, that the *French* and We were all one: The *French* I say, the old inveterate Enemies of our Nation and Religion. *St. John* writes to *Torcy* again about *Sicily*, and says, "*Savoy's* declaring for US will be a decisive Stroke, and the more necessary, because the King of *Prussia's* Conduct has not answer'd the Queen's Expectations; he adds, The Queen embrac'd, with a great deal of Satisfaction, every Opportunity that offer'd to do the King a Pleasure". This was upon sending Orders to the *British Admiral* in the *Streights*, not to molest the *French Ships* tho' in Time of War, the General Suspension of Arms not being sign'd till many Weeks after.

Mons. de *Torcy* having every Thing he ask'd of Mr. *St. John*, ask'd boldly, like a True *Frenchman* at last, and demanded the *Netherlands* for the Elector of *Bavaria*, and that Her Majesty would make it Her Glory to contribute to that Elector's Good; that very Elector who was under the Ban of the Empire for his Rebellion against the Emperor in favour of *France*; that very Elector whom She had, by Her Victorious General the Duke of *Marlborough*, driven out of the Empire for his Rebellion. This was too gross, and so much against all the Interests of the Confederates, that *St. John* himself hopes *Torcy* will not insist upon it; not on Account of these Interests, but because he believ'd the Parliament then in being, as Bad as it was, would never agree to it, and it might go hard with him for receiving such a Proposition from a Conquer'd Enemy. The Reason why he would have Mons. de *Torcy* give over such a Demand, was, that it might not cause Disputes between *England* and *France*, whose strict Union, and indissoluble Friendship were the Points in view, to which all their Measures had been directed. 'Twas to unite US to *France* that the Peace was made; to unite us to Popery, Slavery, Poverty, and Ruin. He uses another Argument why the Most Christian King should desist from his Demands for his Ally, "You are not, says he, to *Torcy*, at all Ignorant that this Negotiation was begun and carry'd on upon a Supposition, that the Queen must desist from many Conditions, which in Rigour She was oblig'd to procure for Her Allies, p. 27. Nothing can be plainer. You know that when we begun this Treaty we consulted to break a vast Number of other Treaties and Engagements, and Sacrifice to it the Queen's Honour, and the Interest of Her Confederates, and Her People. Very well, Mr. Secretary! However *France* would not agree that *Sicily* should go to the Duke of *Savoy*, but upon an express Stipulation, that Great Britain would make a Separate Peace with Her, p. Ibid.

As bad as the Conditions of *Peace* were, in the mean time the *French Plenipotentiaries* refus'd to tell the Bishop of *Bristol* whether their Master would stand to them or not. They would still have a Rod over the *British Ministers*, who gave Directions to their *Plenipo's* at *Utrecht*, to propose to the *Dutch* a General Suspension of Arms, when they sent over the *Queen's Speech*; but it must be remember'd that *St. John* had sign'd the *Suspension* for *England* before any such Orders were sent, affecting to do every thing *separately*, to shew his particular *Attachment* to the *French*. The Bishop of *Bristol*, who seems not to be let very far into the Secret, tho' he was ready enough to enter into it as far as they would let him, represented to *St. John*, "That the Allies complain'd mightily against our Proceedings, as the unavoidable Ruin of *Europe*. Religion, Liberty, the Faith of Treaties, were urg'd to shew the Enormity of our Ministers Actions". Nay, he says they are so enrag'd, that he was in some fear for his Person. All the Answer the *Secretary* gives him, is, That the "Folly of the *Dutch* is the Occasion of all. Tho' they kick and flounce like wild Beasts caught in a Toil, yet the Cords are too strong for them to break, they will soon tire with struggling, and when they are tir'd grow tame". Insufferable Insolence! Has the *Dutch Nation* such a Character of *Fools*, that so great a *Novice* in *Politics*, and so great a *Rake* in *Morals*, could teach them Wisdom? Did not the *Dutch* know their *Interests* as well as Mr. *St. John*? To comfort the Bishop, he says, he need not fear coming to any Harm, for they durst not meddle with a *Bishop*, and an *Ambassador*. This Ribaldry is not the only foul Language the *Dutch* met with. Whoever has read the Earl of *Strafford's Memorials* would think the *French King* was at *Utrecht* again, instead of the Lord Privy-Seal of *England*. But it was not the *Dutch* only that he insulted, he falls upon all the Allies, "whom, he says, 'twas necessary to humble, and keep under, since sharp Handling does better with those People than the best Words.

As this Earl had laid the Blame of the Duke of *Ormond's* deserting the Confederates on Prince *Eugene*, so now *St. John* bids the Bishop of *Bristol*, lay the entire Blame of all that has happen'd on the *Dutch*, p. 30. And this is the most frontless Thing that ever I met with, their want of Concert with Us, with whom we would not Concert, as they had been complaining ever since they heard of these Negotiations. This Bishop and his Colleague were also enjoin'd to press the Ministers of the Allies at *Utrecht*, to give in Categorical Answers to the Offers of *France*, which were such as deserv'd no Answers; and on their Backwardness to do so unreasonable a Thing, our Ministers in *England* accus'd them of Obstinacy; pretending that Obstinacy of theirs forc'd them on a *Separate Peace*, the Scandal of which had been avoided, had the *Plenipotentiaries* of the Confederates done as those of *Great-Britain* requir'd them to do.

Whatever was the true Reason of *St. John's* being sent to *France*; whether it was to treat of the Affair of the Pretender in Person, or only to receive his Presents, the Price of the Peace; 'tis certain by his Instructions he has impowr'd to make a *Separate* one; that when he went over, our Ministers did not know the Intentions of *France* as to several Articles relating to the particular Interests of *Great-Britain*; however he had full Power to conclude *separately*, and accordingly did Sign a *Separate Treaty* for a *Suspension of Arms*, which left the future Negotiations entirely at the Disposition of *France*, and accordingly she immediately started a Demand for *Tourney* by Her *Plenipotentiaries*. This caus'd a great Perplexity to our *Plenipo's*, who conceiving it to be as inconsistent with what the *Queen* had declar'd in Her Speech of the 6th of *June*, about the *Dutch Barrier*, they refuse to open the Conferences at *Utrecht* till they knew *St. John's* further Pleasure. When the Matter was consider'd in the Cabinet in *England*, it occasion'd a great Warmth, p. 35. Some of the Cabinet were for making it a Part of the *Dutch Barrier*, but *St. John* instead of endeavouring to have it continu'd as such, which he confesses the *Queen* intended in Her Speech, proposes Expedients whereby the Town might be restor'd to *France* without the *Queen's* being a Party to a Thing which was contradictory to the Intention of

Her Speech, and indred to the Words of it. The *English Secretary* Communicates these Expedients to the *French* one. Here's corresponding with an Enemy; for as yet we have no Peace; He tells Monsieur *de Torcy* how *Tournay* might be secur'd by his Master, contrary to the avow'd Sense of Her Majesty in Her Peace Speech. This he does, notwithstanding *France* had Nine Months before, by Abbot *Gaultier*, given up *Tournay*. For this Advice, in Favour of the *Common Enemy* sent to the Secretary, he had no Authority; he wrote in a Private Capacity as a Friend to *Torcy*, and his Master. No Body as I can find, was of his Opinion but *Harley*, who and himself, *he says*, had great Trouble about it in the Cabinet. The Expedient he propos'd, and which was follow'd by *France*, was to lay the Blame still upon the *Dutch*; and for the *French Plenipotentiaries* to declare, That tho' *France* did intend to treat on the Queen's Plan, yet the *States* had behav'd themselves in such a Manner, that She did now expect to make an Advantage of Her Successes, and to be paid for Her Charges since by *Tournay*. This Advice did *Torcy* follow, and had not the *States* been Inflexible on the Head of *Tournay*; and had not some large Concessions been made for it to the Elector of *Bavaria*, this strong Town, and the main Strength of the *Dutch Barrier*, had been restor'd to *France*, by the Advice of the late *Treasurer and Secretary*, p. 35.

The Dispute between the *French* and *Dutch* about the Affair of *Mesnager* and Count *Rechterin* was kept a-foot by the *French Ministers* in Concert with the *English*, to give a Colour to such Delays in the *Negotiation* as they should think fit, p. 31. 32. 33. The *British Plenipotentiaries*, p. 35. reviv'd that Difference for Her Majesty's Service, to stave off the Conferences. Thus did we play in every Game, small as well as great, as if we were abandon'd to all Sense of *Honesty* and *Shame*.

These *Ministers* of ours were so far from having the least Compassion for their Country, which they were ruining as fast as they cou'd, that they sported with our Destruction. One may see what a Delight the Earl of *Strafford* took in the *Libels* that were written against the *Confederates*, and the *Protestant-Succession*, by his making use of the *Cant* in *John Bull*, an infamous *Invective*, written by *Swift* against the *Dutch*, the *War*, in short, against every Thing that a good *Britain* ought to set any Value upon. The *Dutch* in that *Libel* are called *Nicholas Frog*; and therefore, says this wise Earl, in a Letter to *Prior*, *If we had a Mind to have Nick Frog sign'd with us we might*. They had no Mind to have the *States* conclude the *Peace* when they did. They were fond of making their Mistress break her Word, and coming into a separate One, that *France* might do what she pleas'd with the rest of the *Confederates*, and truly so he did; insomuch, that *St. John* himself was asham'd of the Hardships she put upon both Them and Us. For *God's sake*, says he in a Letter to the same *Prior*, *Hide the Nakedness of thy Country, and give the best Turn thy fertile Brain will furnish thee with to the Blunders of thy Countrymen, who are not much better Politicians than the French are Poets*. The Postscript to this Epistle is, *I had almost forgot to tell you that the Queen is pleas'd to discharge the Mareschal Tallard's Parole, which you may assure him, with my Compliments*. The *Mareschal* made his Boasts in *France*, That he had been a main Instrument of the *Peace*, and as such the *English Secretary* did not fail to do him all the good Offices that lay in his Power.

What Usage we met with from our New Friends the *French*, may be seen by their sending *Cassart* to attack our Plantations in *America* after the Suspension of Arms was sign'd. *St. John* writes to *Prior*, he believ'd *Cassart* was going to *Brasil* or *Surinam*; but, says he, *We never imagin'd our Colonies would have been attack'd by him; We depended on the good Understanding which we thought establish'd*. But they depended on a broken Reed. *Cassart* took our Ships, destroy'd our Plantations, and the *French* never gave us the least Satisfaction for it. This *Mr. Prior*, Author of that excellent Poem call'd *Hans Carvel*, and one of the best *Tell-Tales* in *Britain*, had got himself into the good Graces of the *French King*; insomuch, that when his Majesty wanted a trusty Messenger to send to *Queen Anne*, about something he did not care any body but Friends should know, who should he chuse

for this Errand but the Queen's own Minister, Mr. *Mathew Prior* ; who frankly undertaken to go on his Message, without his Mistress's Leave ? Thus *Matt.* Queen *Anne's* Envoy to King *Louis*, is now King *Louis's* Envoy to Queen *Anne* : And he carries a Letter from the French King to her Majesty, wherein King *Louis*, who about Five Years before shipt off the Pretender at *Dunkirk*, with an Army to invade her Dominions and dethrone her, now tells Queen *Anne*, *He has a particular Regard for her ; that he is giving her new and certain Marks of his Friendship for her ; That he doubts not she will Interest her self for the Elector of Bavaria, purely for his sake ; and that Mr. Prior's Conduct is very agreeable to him.* Mr. *Prior* having done his Errand in *England*, returns with as good as he brings, a Letter to the French King, wherein Queen *Anne* tells *K. Louis*, *What a sincere pleasure she had in the agreeable Letter Mr. Prior brought her.* She also compliments him with the very same Phrase our Parliaments used to make use of to her Majesty, after she had displaced her most able and faithful Ministers, *Your Consummate Wisdom has taken the most proper Resolution for Peace.* The Queen says further, *That the Consideration of the French King's Friendship, would be a prevailing Motive to engage her a-new in the Elector of Bavaria's Interest ; for her Majesty had not been unmindful of so deserving a Prince before.* And as to Mr. *Prior*, the Queen is pleased to add, *In continuing to conduct himself in the Manner that shall be entirely agreeable to You, he does no more than execute to a Tittle the Orders which I have given him.*

Thus if our dear *Matt* should be threaten'd to be hang'd, for having render'd himself so agreeable to the Common Enemy of the British Nation, and their Allies, (for by the Way there is no Peace yet) he may slip his Neck out of the Collar, by pretending, like other such good Men as Himself, that as for him truly he only follow'd Orders. Indeed he may well pretend it, when Her Majesty says in the Close of Her Letter, speaking still of *Prior* ; " Among all the Proofs of his Duty, and Zeal for my Service, I expect in a very particular Manner, that he should take all possible Occasions to repeat to you the Esteem and perfect Regard that I have for You, and my earnest Desire to live with you in a sincere and perpetual Friendship ". Which was to desire a Thing impossible ; for the French King was never a sincere and perpetual Friend to any Mortal, no, not to the Pope himself ; and why Queen *Anne* should think he would be so to her, I can't imagine, as long as he had a Pretender to her Dominions under his Protection, to whom he was, and will be, a sincere and perpetual Friend. At the very time that this Extraordinary Friendship was a-foot, *St. John* tells Mr. *Prior*, the French did not do fair by us : They press us to conclude, that they may have others at their Mercy ; and at the same time they chicane with us, concerning the most Essential Article of our Treaty, and endeavour to elude the Agreement made, repeated, and confirmed. This was about *Newfoundland*, an Article so very absurd and scandalous at the best, that I have not Patience to enter into the Debate of the French King's Chicanery. For as long as our Ministers voluntarily offer'd to admit the French to take Fish and dry them on *Newfoundland*, and to give *Cape-Breton*, as good a Place for Fishing as *Newfoundland*, to the French, all the rest is Grimace, and Appearances only. The French were left in possession of Fishery, enough to supply the whole World, by the very Terms we propos'd to them. And the Cession of *Newfoundland* was only to amuse the People, who had a Notion of Immense Wealth to be got there ; but none at all ; since the French were to have still as good Opportunities to get it as ever they had, and as we our selves were to have.

We all remember, that the *Peace Speech* promis'd us Mountains of Gold, by the Advantages that had been obtain'd for us in Trade. We have found, that the main Articles however, were refer'd to be discuss'd after the Peace. Yet Secretary *St. John*, speaking of such References with respect to the French, says, *We have learn'd that whatever is refer'd is given up ; as were those Advantages the Speech flatter'd us with hopes of.*

Every Body may well wonder how the late Ministers could be such Fools as to give up

up the *Newfoundland Fishery* to the *French*. But they will wonder much more when they know it was parted with in Return for the Ninth Article of the *Treaty of Commerce*, which was first drawn up in *England* by our Secretary, and sent by him to *France*. The *French* knowing it was all for their Interest, greedily caught at it, inserted *St. John's* Article in the *Treaty of Commerce*, And that very Article for which the late Ministers abandon'd the *Newfoundland Fishery* to the *French*, was the same Ninth Article that their own *House of Commons* rejected.

One wou'd have thought, that after what the Queen had told us, of the *Interests of England* being provided for by our *Agreements with France*, and that we had deserted our Allies in the Field, there was nothing material to be adjusted. But all this while was the main Interest unsettled, that of *Trade*. And *France* having by our *Desertion* gain'd her Ends in the Duke of *Ormond's* Campaign, 1712. did not stick to use us as we deserv'd to be us'd; a Company of — *St. John* writes to our Minister in *France*, to represent what Confusion may arise, if our Negotiation appears to be still open, and if the Secret comes to be divulg'd, that *France* refuses to make good in the Treaty the full Effect of former Promises to the Queen.

So much has been said, to prove that our Ministry all along intended a *Separate Peace*, tho' they made their Mistress declare it was never in her Intentions, that 'tis needless to say any thing more. Or I might observe, that in a Letter of the Secretary's to the same Minister, he writes, *The Plenipotentiaries of Great-Britain shall publicly declare in the Congress, they are ready to sign with those of France*, whether the others are ready or not, and that only for the sake of *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, a Town of Note, but no manner of Service to us as long as the *French* are suffer'd, as they are by the Treaty, to fish on that Coast, and to dry their Fish there. Again, the Queen, if they then make unreasonable Demands, that is, such as the *French* don't like, will by the same Measures engage them to conclude, or she will sign without them. There is not the least Scruple in the World made of signing separately. They don't boggle at the Breach of the Grand Alliance, and so many other Treaties which obliged us to Act in Conjunction and Communication with our Confederates.

The *French* were so tender in every Point of the *Fishery*, that our Ministers had much ado to bring them to humour, by parting with *Placentia*; and they had also rais'd several Difficulties in other Parts of the *Trade-Articles*. This puzzled Mr. Secretary to the last Degree. He had gone so far he could not go back; and if he went forward, as the *French* wou'd have, he must swing for it. The Talk we have had lately of what he deserves, and what will become of him, is no more than he was afraid of in Queen Anne's Time. He treated with a Halter about his Neck. If he did not go thro' with the Treaty, he was sure to be truss'd up; and if he did on the Terms he was like to have from *France*, no better Fate cou'd attend him. His Friend Robin was in the same Pickle. *Torey* does not care for that. He has done his Business by rendring us odious to the Confederacy; and he will not give 'em one Article that's worth the Ink and Paper it takes up. Upon which Mr. *St. John* writes to *Prior* in great Confidence; *We stand indeed upon the Brink of a Precipice; but the French stand there too. Pray tell Monsieur de Torcy from me, that he may get Robin and Harry HANGED; but Affairs will soon run back into so much Confusion, that he will wish us alive again. Unless the Queen can talk of her Interests as determin'd with France, and unless your Court will keep our Allies in the Wrong, as they are sufficiently at this Time, I foresee inextricable Difficulties.* In this Letter, he tells *Prior* how he wou'd have *Torey* manage and deceive the Confederacy, p. 39. and engages, if the *Frenchman* acts the Part he wou'd have him, that notwithstanding all the Clamour which had been made to the contrary, notwithstanding the Folly, Knavery, and Villany of it, as Robin said, he wou'd get our *Separate Peace* address'd for, and make the Cause of *France* for once popular in *England*. What dost thou think of this, *Honest Briton*? Here is a *British Secretary of State* giving advice to the *Common Enemy* how to deceive his Mistress's Allies, and promising to make the

the Cause of Popery and Slavery which is the Cause of France popular in England. In the same Letter, he bids Torcy to compare the Articles he had agreed to with the Lord Townshend's Articles at the Hague. And in the next, to Prior; *We die at once, or recover at once. Let France depart from that shameful expedient by which they thought to bubble us out of the Advantages which they had so solemnly yielded, and all is well, otherwise, by G-d, both they and we are undone.* This High-Church Secretary is the first who introduced *Cursing and Swearing* into State-Dispatches. But what signifies speaking of a Man's Piety, whom we have been so long tracing in so wicked a Business? The latter part of his Letter is Prophetic of his own running away. It tells us that the Meeting of the Parliament was put off from time to time, till they heard from France. It has a Fling against the French Protestants, and another against Heaven; for he swears again as if he and *Mall-Chuck* had been over a Punch-Bowl. *If they do not agree, says he, I may perhaps be a Refugee: If I am, I promise beforehand to behave myself better in France, than the French Refugees do here: Make the French ashamed of their sneaking chicane. By Heaven, they treat like Pedlars, or which is worse, like Attorneys.*

As great as *St. John* was with Prior, the latter did nothing without consulting the Lord Treasurer, and as he says, receiving his Commands. In all this French Correspondence before the Peace, there appears no Authority for what has been done, but *St. John* and *Harley's* Letters. That Things were not handled in Council, is very plain: Nay, that so small an Officer as *Mat. Prior*, did undertake to promise for the Queen. He writes to the Lord Treasurer, that he is of Monsieur Torcy's Mind, where he thinks our Plenipotentiaries at *Utrecht* asked a little too much about *Newfoundland*, &c. p. 40. and adds, *This I only write to your Lordship, it being a thing that should not be canvass'd in Council; and I have promised that the Queen's Answer shall be such as the King desires.* Thus every little Whiffler undertook to buy us and sell us, without troubling the Queen in the Matter. In another Letter to the Lord Treasurer, he says, *Your Friend Torcy is in the last Concern, that the Duke of Shrewsbury's Instructions are not fuller; &c. I believe Torcy writes himself to you.* And in another Letter to the Double Earl he writes, *I daily expect your last Orders.* Again, *Your Friendship for me, by the by, does all the Business here.* Again, *I shall direct myself as you shall please to instruct me privately.* By all which it is plain, that the Earl of Oxford was in the deepest of the Secret of the French Newfoundland Fishery, and the 9th Article of the Commerce-Treaty: Those two Things being the Subject of Prior's Letters to him.

Notice has been taken of the Use France made of the Dispute between *Mesnager* and Count *Rechteren* at *Utrecht* to put off the Conferences till the Treaty between France and England was concluded by the private Correspondences of Oxford and *St. John* with the French Ministers. When that was near a Conclusion, the Conference at *Utrecht* were renew'd but the French Plenipotentiaries in Expectation of our Separate Peace, behav'd themselves so insolently that the Bishop of *Bristol* himself complains of them, p. 41. But instead of getting any Redress, he receives by the next Dispatch brought him by Mr. *George St. John*, the Secretary's Brother, an Order to sign the Separate Peace with France; all Difficulties being remov'd by the French King's yielding us the Town of *Placentia* in *Newfoundland*, in Consideration of our yielding him the Island of *Cape Breton*, and the Fishery belonging to it; sufficient of it self for all the Markers in the World: Not a Word is said in the Secretary's Dispatches, of the least Care being taken of the Interests of the Allies, but Provision is made for the Restitution of the Elector of *Bavaria* to his German Territories; and *St. John* says, speaking of his present Majesty King *George's* Interest, as Elector of *Hannover*, and Arch-Treasurer of the Empire, which Dignity would be affected by such a Restoration, *Her Majesty does not much enter into the Notion of the Degradation of Hanover, as a Matter of an Importance.* What Friends our Court and Ministry were to his Electoral Highness, our present Sovereign!

It must be said for the Bishop of *Bristol*, that he proceeded with some Caution, and wrote

to the Secretary, it was necessary he should do so, adding, *If you were to see how the Fr. negotiate with the Allies, and how hard it is for us to obtain here what to you seems impossible they should make any Difficulty to grant, you would be of the same Opinion.* The Bishop still boggles at Signing the *Separate Peace*, because the French push'd it so heartily; and the Lord Treasurer who always put Pen to Paper when 'twas necessary to give the last Hand to any Important Negotiation, was forc'd to write to the Lord *Strafford*, to dispatch the Signing the *Separate Treaty* out of hand. His Letter is as Eloquent and Perspicuous, as all his Works are. The Reasons he gives for hast'ning their Signing were to save Charges; because, quoth he, *While this needless Protraction lasts, we maintain 49000 Men by Land, and 30000 within a Trifle by Sea; and the Merchants lie off, and the Faction invent Stories, and the Party hold out, and the Members grow into an ill Humour, by being kept in Town so long idle, &c.* Here's a Cicero and a Machiavel! He adds, 'Tis the prevailing and universal Opinion here, that France has acquitted her self. There's Varacity for you, Who would not give Credit to a Man, that writes such News to the *British Plenipotentiaries*, to persuade them to sign a *Separate Peace*? He says, every living Soul believ'd France had done what she ought to have done. Well, go thy way, say I, and match thee who can. Upon his Letter, the *Separate Peace* is immediately sign'd. and the Emperor left to carry on the War by himself, which we begun to Recover *Spain* for his House. And it not being enough to suffer the French to fish at *Newfoundland*, a Clause was added at *Utrecht* to admit the *Spaniards* also the Privilege of Fishing there, p. 43. So very careful were the late Ministers of our Trade, tho' the *Spaniards* had no manner of Right to any such Claim, as was represented by the Board of Trade, the Ministers Creatures; and 'twas point Blank against a Statute of the 10. and 11. of King *William*.

Having mention'd *Spain*, I must observe that our *Commerce Treaty* with the *Spaniards* was manag'd by one *Gillingham*, an *Irish* Papist, who corresponded with the Treasurer, but his Letters about that infamous Business are sunk. When the *Treaty of Commerce* with *Spain* was concluded it was sent to *England* to be ratify'd; and after an unusual Manner, three New Articles added in the *Ratifications*, which explain'd away all the Advantages of the *Treaty*, and oblig'd our Merchants in *Spain* to a new Payment of 14 per Cent. whereas the Payment by the *Treaty* it self was 5 per Cent. more than ever they paid in the Reign of *Charles II.* King of *Spain*.

Thus we have shown what a Clandestine, Separate, Destructive Peace the late Ministers made for us, and how they gave up the Trade of the Nation in their *Treaties of Commerce* both with *France* and *Spain*.

We are in the next place to observe, What was the Conduct of the late Ministers in the Affair of the *Catalans*, who exerted themselves more in the Cause of Liberty than any Nation upon Earth; and consequently, must needs be very odious to the Friends of *France*. Let it be remember'd, that it was the Court of *England* that were the first Movers in the War of *Catalonia*. The *Catalans*, tho' they hated *Philip* and his Government, had submitted to it, had lived under it Five Years, and it was grown familiar to them. Then did Queen *Anne* send Mr. *Milford Crow*, who had lived a long while at *Barcelona* as a Merchant, to reside at *Genoa*, *Leghorn*, or any Neutral Port near to *Catalonia*; and from thence he was ordered to carry on a Correspondence with the *Catalans*, to engage them to throw off the French Yoke, and declare for King *Charles* the III. This was done before the Queen had any Powers from that King to Treat with them, and Promise them, as She did, to procure the Establishment of all such Rights and Immunities as they formerly enjoy'd under the House of *Austria*. Mr. *Crow* was also ordered to offer her Majesty's Guaranty for the Confirmation of this Agreement by King *Charles*. Her Majesty gave him Credential Letters Sign'd by Her Self, directed to all the Nobility, Magistrates, and all Officers Civil and Military, desiring them to depend upon the Promises he should make them in Her Name.

After

After him the Earl of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Cloudesty Shovel*, were sent with a Fleet, Army, and Instructions, to use their Endeavours to induce the Catalans to join with them in their Undertaking, and to Animate that People to prosecute their Liberty with Vigour. They were empowered to assure them of the Queen's Support, and to promise them in the Queen's Name, that she will secure them a Confirmation of their Rights and Privileges from the King of Spain. And if these Invitations did not do, they were to Attack them and force them to a Submission, as may be seen by those Instructions at large, and the Declaration that was published to the same purpose. Upon these Assurances, as King *Charles* wrote to the Queen, they took Arms; and how well they deserv'd to have those Assurances made good to them, we all know. Every General and Minister that was sent to *Catalonia* had Orders to renew them, and to promise that they should never be abandon'd. Instead of which, when the Court of *Great-Britain* fell into Separate Measures, and the Lord *Lexington* was sent to *Spain*, our Ministers took so little Care of the brave Catalans, that there was not so much as a word said of their Antient Priviledges, only he was ordered to make a simple Representation of the Obligations the Queen had to insist upon a Pardon for all the Spaniards that had taken Arms by her Invitation, and also for a Security for the Catalans Persons, Estates, Dignities, and the Priviledges they enjoyed before their Revolt. As loose as the Expression of this Order was, it was not complied with by the British Ambassador; and the Lord *Lexington* only said, That the Queen pray'd an Amnesty for them, as well as the other Spaniards. Good God! to pray the Duke of *Anjou* to Pardon those Catalans, who, at our Instigation, had taken Arms, and by our Assistance driven him once home into *France* again. All that the Duke of *Anjou* will promise in Answer to this, is, Marks of his Clemency, provided the Queen will procure the Re-establishment of all the Flemmings, who had continued the War for him, in Conjunction with the French, to their Estates, Honours, &c. After this a Memorial is presented to *Philip*, and still for an Amnesty only; which is answer'd with an Account of the great Army of Frenchmen and Spaniards that was entring *Catalonia* to reduce the Rebels; but however, at the Queen's Request he was willing to pardon those Catalans who, acknowledging his Clemency, and repenting of their Error, should return to his Dominion and Vassalage. The Noise the Report of the Catalans being abandoned made in *England*, put the Court on assuming another Tone, and the Lord *Lexington* had new Instructions to represent, That when a General Amnesty was demanded, it was understood that the Priviledges of the Catalans were necessarily included; and that this was an Affair wherein the Queen's Honour was extremely concerned; and that she was obliged by Motives of Conscience not to depart from it.

So here is a Solemn and Just Declaration, That the Queen was bound in Honour and Conscience to procure the Confirmation of these Priviledges, on the Assurances of which they had thrown off the French Yoke. The Lord *Lexington* writes back, That the Demand of Priviledges was refus'd in the most positive Stile he ever met with, except when he proposed the Cession of a Tract of Ground about *Gibraltar*.

Thus we see to what a Wretched Condition the late Ministers had reduced the Queen, from the most Glorious One that ever British Prince was happy in. Her Demands are insolently refus'd, though the most just ones that could be; by a King whom a Year or Two before, her Arms had beaten from one End of his Kingdoms to the other, and as he own'd himself, made the Crown totter on his Head. *Philip* who had learn'd to Bully of his Grandfather, and understood what Circumstances our Ministers were in, told the Lord *Lexington*, when he insisted on the Demand for the Catalans, We know the Peace is as necessary for you as for us, and that you will not break it off for a Trifle. Our Ministers had directed the Lord *Lexington* to own *Philip* as King of *Spain* upon his Arrival at *Madrid*, notwithstanding the Peace was not concluded; and after that Step *Philip* doubted not but he might treat them as the French did: Do what he would with them they durst not go back. 'Twas at first resolved, and so ordered, that the Lord *Lexington* should not acknowledge *Philip*, till he had agreed to the Queen's Demands; but lest this should give Offence to *France*,

Lord

Lord Dartmouth writes thither to know the Sentiments of that Court, who are highly disgusted that such a *Slur* should be put upon his *Catholick Majesty*. Prior writes a long labour'd Epistle, to the Lord Dartmouth, full of *Torcy's* Arguments against it, concluding thus, *The whole Treaty being Eventual, this Acknowledgment of Philip as King of Spain would fall as the other Points, unless the Conditions were made good, and the Peace Agreed and Ratify'd.* Upon this *St. John* takes the Matter to himself, says the Lord Dartmouth mistook the *Queen's* Meaning, and Lord Lexington is order'd to acknowledge Philip the first thing he does; *St. John* telling Prior, that it was *Natural and Civil*; but the Truth is, *France* would have it so, and so it was; after which the *Catalans* were not like to obtain much by the Intercession of *Queen Anne*, whose Acknowledgment of the Duke of *Anjou* to be King of *Spain*, declar'd them *Rebels*; and accordingly some of our News-Writers were directed to treat them as such. *St. John* wrote to the *British Plenipotentiaries* at *Utrecht*, That, it was not for the Interest of *England*, that the *Catalans* should preserve their *Liberties*; to which he adds, That the *Privilege* to Trade to the *West-Indies* was much more valuable than all their *Antient Privileges*, if they intended to live in due subjection to Authority. This Matter was carried against those poor People to such a Height, that the *British Minister* at *Madrid*, who had a little before pleaded for them, now represents to the *Spanish Ministers*, the Necessity of their drawing their Army from the Frontiers of *Portugal*, in order to end the Rebellion of the *Catalans*.

It is no Secret, that the Evacuation of *Catalonia* was forc'd upon the Emperor by us. When the Convention for it was made, the Imperial Ministers insisted upon preserving the *Privileges* of the *Catalans* by it; but all they could obtain was, a Promise that *Queen Anne* would interpose Her good Offices, in the most effectual manner, to obtain the *Privileges* of the *Catalans*, &c. The Queen had declar'd Her Self before bound in Honour and Conscience to do it. The Treaty with *Spain* went forward, was at last Sign'd, and the *Privileges* of the *Catalans* abandon'd; the Lord Lexington contenting himself with Protesting against it. True, after he had, according to his Powers, and Instructions, Sign'd that Treaty, a Memorial was sent him from *England*, which our Ministers must know would come too late, and yet they have the Faces to say in it, besides the Honour and Conscience before-mentioned, and her Majesty's leaving the *Catalans* in a worse Condition than she found them, She hopes that after the pains she has taken for procuring a solid and lasting Peace to Europe, the King of *Spain* will not leave her with the Grief of having been the occasion of the loss of the *Privileges* of that People. There the whole Truth comes out; the Answer to which was, The King does not see that any thing is to be done in the matter. The Lord Dartmouth, in a Letter to the Lord Lexington tells him, the Secretary *St. John* had the principle share in the Negotiation. He, good Man, has a Hand in every thing that brought Ruin and Infamy upon us.

Soon after the Treaty with *Spain* was Sign'd, Philip who had seen how far we were carried by Honour and Conscience, makes bold to desire the Lord Lexington to order the Queen's Ships to block up *Barcelona*. His Lordship replies, 'That he was afraid Her Majesty would think she had done enough to gratify the King, in not insisting upon the preserving for the *Catalans* their Antient Liberties. But how Sir James Wishart was ordered to disturb the *Cattlans* by Sea afterwards, will appear by and by. The Lord Lexington, the day before he left *Madrid*, at the special Request of Philip himself, wrote a Letter, which that Prince first approv'd of, and sent it to the Regency of *Barcelona*, advising them to submit themselves to their King; And there is one Expression in this Letter which shews, what Use some Statesmen are apt to make of the Sacred Name of the Almighty, God has not permitted me to do more than I have done. This was not all, the late Ministers suffered one Sir Patrick Lawless, who had been the Pretender's Envoy to Philip, to come to the Court of *England*, and present Memorials against the distress'd *Catalans*.

When

When *Wishart* went into the *Streights*, he was instructed to use all "Necessary Measures" to put an End to the Confusions of *Catalonia*, and actually to attack the *Majorcans* to "reduce them to a due Obedience." These very *Majorcans* who were invited to declare for King *Charles* the III^d. by strong and repeated Assurances given them of Support from *England*, in the Declaration put forth when the Earl of *Peterborough*, and Sir *Cloudesty Shovel* arrived on the Coasts of *Spain*. There goes Honour and Conscience again. The French King, but as for his Conscience and Honour, I don't think it will bear Remark, had promised, as well as our Queen, when the Convention for evacuating *Catalonia* was concluded, to do his utmost to procure the Antient Privileges of the *Catalans*; instead of which he sends the Duke of *Berwick* with a French Army to conquer and destroy them, as he did in a most deplorable Manner.

The Secretary writes to *Prior*, "That they never took the least Notice of the Catalan Agent; and that he believed a reasonable Accommodation might be made with that Turbulent People. A reasonable Accommodation with him was little better than surrendering at Discretion; and he calls them *Turbulent*, on Account of their Answer to the Duke of *Populi's* Summons, *That they would rather die than be Slaves*. This Bravery in an abandoned People, could not but produce the most generous Sentiments in a British House of Peers; and notwithstanding the Treasurer had loaded them with a Dozen at once, all Enemies of such Sort of *Turbulency*, as well as *St. John*, they voted an Address to Her Majesty, to "Interpose in the most pressing Manner, that the *Catalans* may have the full Enjoyment of their just and Antient Privileges continu'd to them. It was the Custom of the late Ministers to turn all the blame of their Conduct on those very Persons whom they injured by it, as we have shewn in more Instances than one; and the Answer to this Address is, "At the Time I concluded my Peace with *Spain*, I resolved to use my Interposition upon every Occasion, for obtaining those Privileges, and to prevent, if possible, the Misfortunes to which that People are expos'd, by the Conduct of those nearly concern'd to Help them"; Meaning the Emperor, who had been forc'd by our Conduct, much against His Will, to withdraw his Army from *Catalonia*. Nothing was done for those Gallant Men but an Intimation from *St. John*, to *Wishart*, That he should not appear before *Barcelona*, nor attack the *Majorcans*, unless Lord *Bingley*, who never went to *Spain*, sent further Orders: This Lord *Bingley*, nam'd Ambassador to *Spain*, had also some formal Instructions to make new Demands, which they all knew would not be granted, had he come in time, in favour of the *Catalan* Privileges.

'Tis pleasant to see with what Frankness *Wishart* wrote to the Lord *Bingley*, whom he thought to be at *Madrid*, to sollicite for some Money for him at the Court of *Madrid*, towards defraying the great Expence of his Voyage. He begs it in almost every Letter; and *R. Philip* was surely very well satisfy'd with the Disposition of an Admiral who ask'd Money of Him, the first Thing he did upon his arrival on the Coast of *Spain*. When he arriv'd in the *Streights* he sent a threatening Letter to the Regency of *Barcelona*, that to fall on them if they would not make Satisfaction for Injuries they had never done: The Pretence was, their Privateers taking *English* Ships; whereas in Truth, they had never brought but One *English* Ship into that Port, which was laden with *Salt*, and they paid for it more than the Master could have made in any other Port, in the *Mediterranean*. Now tho' *Salt* was as necessary as *Bread* for a Town, at that Time streightly Besieg'd by that cruel General the *Marschal de Berwick*; yet did *Wishart* threaten to intimidate them still further in their Distresses, which had rais'd the Compassion of all Christian Nations, Protestant or Papist, but the French and Spaniards, People as insensible of Pity, as the most barbarous *Pagans*. The Letter the Regency wrote to him while the Bombs were blazing about their Ears, and above half their City lay in Ashes, is enough for to melt the Heart of the most Obdurate Highlander; yet did this Scots Admiral, instead of speaking a Word for them to Spaniards or French to suspend their Butcheries, till their Affair was determin'd at *Baden*,

den, send away Three stout Men of War to assist the *Spaniards* in conveying Home their *Flota*; Philip himself not being able to spare any from before *Barcelona*. Thus *Wishart* did in Effect assist him with Three Men of War, which otherwise he must have detach'd from his own Fleet, then blocking up that City. At last when those Miserable People saw there was no Hope from *England*, from whom every Thing they hop'd, was a Debt, " They hung up at the High Altar the Queen's solemn Declaration to protect them; underwent the utmost Miseries of a Siege; during which, what Multitudes perish'd by Famine and Sword; how many have since been executed; and how many Persons of Figure are still dispers'd about the *Spanish* Dominions in Dungeons, is too well known to need any Relation " Let it only be remember'd, what Engagements we lay under to save them from Destruction; how they were destroy'd, and by whose Means, that the *Treason* may receive its Reward; to justify the Honour of the Nation in general, who ought not to have this Guilt imputed to them, as has been made appear in the preceeding Pages.

I have heard some People affect to be very much disappointed, that they meet with no more Proofs in the *Report*, of the Correspondence the late Ministers had with the *French* in Favour of the *Pretender*; but they had been greater Fools than they were, if they had left more Footsteps of such Treason; and there seems to be a sort of *Infatuation* upon them, that they left so many as they did. It appears that *Abbot Gaultier* manag'd the *Pretender's* Affairs in personal Conferences, never trusted to Papers; tho' a Writing was found in *St. John's* Closet, dated at *Versailles*, wherein he is treated as Prince of *Wales*; and an Article for him is promis'd to be inserted in the Treaty of Peace.

What our Ministers were doing for him was very well known Abroad; *Monfieur Conbruck*, one of the Imperial *Plenipotentiaries* at *Utrecht*, told the Bishop of *Bristol*, That one great End of our Ministers managing themselves as they did, was no bring in the *Pretender*; And one of the Ministers of the States confess'd, That the True Reason why they oppos'd the Measures of Peace so much, was an Apprehension that they had such a Design p. 52. It was with much ado that those Ministers were brought to have him removed at all out of *France*, and when he was removed, 'twas no farther than *Lorain*, where he was rather more dangerous to *England* than before. The Parliament heard of his Residing there with Indignation, and address'd the Queen to insist upon his being removed from *Lorain*. Her Majesty's Answer, That She would repeat Her Instances, was the Occasion of another Address from the House of Lords, but all to no Purpose; and indeed the late Ministers were so far from being against his residing in *Lorain*, that 'twas by their Direction and Appointment. *Prior* writes to the Secretary, That " the Court of *France* hopes we should have Interest enough with the Emperor to obtain such Passports from him, as may secure the Chevalier's Person in his Journey to, and Residence in *Lorain* ". He wrote to the same Effect to the Lord Treasurer, and says, " The Monarch is a good deal troubl'd upon this Head, lest the Young Man should fall into the Hands of the *Hussars* or *Barbarians* ": By *Barbarians*, He means the *Dutch* or other Troops of the *Allies*; He adds, *Monfieur D' Aumont*, Has Orders to speak to our Ministry upon it; to speak for an attainted Outlaw, the very mention of whom was the most Insufferable Insolence in *D' Aumont*; and to treat about him, something a great deal Worse in our Ministers. *Torcy* desires *St. John* to explain himself to *Gaultier*, whether they shall send him, if he did not think it proper to write himself. *St. John* writes to *Torcy*, The *Abbot Gaultier* will write to you upon the Subject of the Chevalier; and thus it pass'd, whenever the *Pretender* was in Question; by which Means so much of that Treasonable Correspondence is lost.

The Chevalier's pretended Mother being attainted, as well as himself, the Crime of corresponding with Her is the same, for which *Ashton* and others were Executed. Mr. *Prior* was sensible of it, and he expresses himself very wittily upon it to the Treasurer,

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"As to the Dowry, I shall not only be dunn'd to Death, but Hang'd". These Men were much better *Prophets* than *Politicians*. "The Dowager sends Messengers to me, which you in *England* do not think it extremely Lawful to receive". The Penalty of it is indeed, as he says, a *Halter*; but the *Envoy* and the *Treasurer* could at that Time be Merry over one. He then solicites for the Pretended Mother of the Chevalier, "Pray let the Dowry be paid in an Handsome Manner, that may shew the Charity of the Queen, and the Generosity of Her Lord Treasurer, if it be done at all". Notwithstanding the *Attainder* of the Chevalier, our Ministers sent him the Queen's Pass-ports, p. 53. And in a Letter sent to *France* by the Duke of *Lorain*, it is asserted, That the Queen of Great Britain had granted Her Protection to the Pretender, p. 54.

Tho' St. John wrote to Prior to speak to the Duke of *Lorain's* Minister at *Paris* about his giving Offence to the Queen and Nation by entertaining the Chevalier; it must be observed, that he did not write a Word about it till four Months after the Addresses of Parliament for the Queen to repeat her Instances with the Duke of *Lorain* for his Removal; and four Days after he wrote thus to Prior, to press him to do his utmost to procure Satisfaction for the Duke of *Lorain* at the French Court in several Points wherein his Interest were concerned, closing all with these Expressions, "You are enough apprized of his Wants, and of her Majesty's earnest Desire, it by any means she can, to contribute to the Ease and Advantage of a Prince, who deserves much better Usage than he has on many Occasions met with". What could he deserve of us for keeping a Person in his Dominions, who, with the French King's Money, kept about him a Company of *Traitors*, *Assassins*, avow'd Enemies to our Constitution, himself the Head of them all, a Pretender to the Queen's Crown, and a Harbourn of all such as fled their Country for Treason, whom he encouraged to continue their treasonable Practices, by corresponding with, and animating a Traiterous Faction in *England*? This is the Man the Duke of *Lorain* receives into his Bosom, in Opposition to the Addresses of Parliament, their high Resentment, and the Queen's repeated Instances. And this is the Duke, whose Interest St. John has more at heart than those of his Queen and Country. What he would have done with *Dunkirk*, if he could have prevented its being demolished, one may guess by the use it was put to, when the Pretender met a Fleet and Army there to invade *Scotland*: It lay ready at hand to transport him thence to *Britain*, whenever the French King, at the Expence of his Mignon's Head, was disposed to give us any Trouble about him. *Torcy*, who doubtless knew our Secretaries Sentiments by means of Abbot *Gaultier*, tells his dear Friend St. John, "It may come to pass, for Reasons easily to be foreseen, that *England* shall repent having demanded the Demolition of a Place, and the Destruction of a Harbour, which might be of great Use in Conjunctions which are not very remote". By his Reasons easily to be foreseen, he can mean nothing else but its Convenience for Embarking the Pretender for a Second Invasion with a Popish French Army. By *England*, who would repent its Demolition, he intends the *Jacobites* and their Abettors. The great Use to be made of it, was for the Rendezvous of that Army, and a Fleet to bring him over: And the Conjunctions which are not very remote, was St. John's Plot to bring him in as soon as possible. *Torcy* durst not have said this, if he had not known the very Soul of him; and I defy any Mortal alive, to put any other reasonable Construction on *England's* repenting that *Dunkirk* was demolished; and the good Use that might be made of it with respect to any Britons but the *Jacobites*. The Pretender himself has put this Plot out of all Doubt, by the Declaration he published upon the Demise of the Queen. Which Declaration he gave to the Duke of *Lorain* to disperse for him: That very Duke who had deserved such mighty things of St. John, Prior, &c. He there takes upon him to speak of her late Majesty, "Of whose good Affections towards us, says he, we could not for some Time past, doubt; and this was the Reason we then sat still, expecting the good Effects there-

“ of, which were unfortunately prevented by her deplorable Death. The Duke of *Ormonde* owns this to be the Pretender's Genuine Declaration, in his Letter of the 6th of December, 1714. For some Time past, that is very plainly from the Time that she chang'd her Ministry, and took in my Dear and my Best Friends; such as the Secretary, the *Plenipotentiary*, the *W—re*, the *B—p*, &c. He was waiting to be called over, expecting the good Effects of their Minister, which, as we all know, was prevented by his Majesty's happy Accession to the Throne. For how cou'd the Pretender look on the Queen's Death to be a deplorable Thing for him, unless he did expect that her Ministers wou'd have landed him at *Dover*, or at *Whitehall*, when they pleas'd? And those Conjunctions drew nearer, which were not very remote, as *Torcy* assures us. And indeed, by the Modelling the Army and Fleet, putting in *Papists*, *Irishmen*, and *Highlanders*, one cannot doubt but that the Conjunction for making Use of *Dunkirk* was near at hand.

I had heard much of the Treasurer's Letter to the Queen a Month or two before he was turn'd out; and now it is made publick, with his rare Account of the State of Affairs. I shall observe two or three extraordinary Passages, and refer the Reader for the rest to the Report. When a Man is impeach'd for *High-Treason*, it is not much to the Purpose to take notice of his Language. Any Style is good enough for a late Speech, but I cannot help repeating one Paragraph of his Elegant Epistle to the Queen.

Do with me what you please, place me either as a Figure or a Cypher, displace me or replace me, you shall ever find me, &c. And then follows his History of himself, at the Time that he found his Heels were like to be tript up, by *St. John*, and those who had got the start of him in the Pretender's Favour.

He begins with telling us, How he was put into the *Treasury*, a Place he was no more fit for, on Account either of his Experience or Industry, than to be Lord High-Admiral. The Man indeed is not what he was taken for with Respect to his *Merit*, but exactly the same with Respect to his *Morals*. How every thing went to Wreck while he had the *Staff*, in that Office, is too well known to need any Remark; and had he not been put in to serve the worst of Turns, they would have thought of a *Mitre* for him, as soon as a *White-Staff*. Well, he's got in; and the first Thing he tells us, is, That the *Bank* refused to lend the *Lord Godolphin* 100000 *l.* on very good Security. Here he is a Tricking. What was that Security? And why did they refuse? Does he not know full well, that it was only because they were told of a *Change*, and were afraid of Affairs coming into his Hands? If her Majesty would only have kept the *Lord Godolphin* in, the *Bank* would have lent him a Million upon his Note, at the same Time that they would not have taken his Successor's Note for a Thousand Pound: And I will venture the Truth of all I have asserted, on this Issue. He then informs us, That he no sooner came in, but he made the greatest Remittance for the Army that ever was known. His Remitters can tell that best. Be it as it will, they were soon weary of him; and all of them that did not break, wou'd have nothing to do with him. As to the *South-Sea* Project, which he values himself so much upon, it was a-foot long before it enter'd into the Thoughts of any one, that such a one as he would be put into the *Treasury*. The 6 per Cent. Interest for the Nine Million Debts, was an Old Scheme; and what he added to it, let him have the Honour of the Name and Trade to the *South-Sea* yet, for Christning it only. His Accomplices demanded no less than 100000 *l.* and were very angry, as he himself owns, that the Nation was not cheated of so much to put into their Pockets, p. 56.

And they wou'd be plundering again in the Business of *Canada*, where *Hill* and *Walker* were sent to betray the poor People of *New-England*, and *North America*. The same Persons that wou'd have peculated 100000 *l.* for the *South-Sea* Trade, had actually 28036 *l.* for the unhappy Expedition to *Canada*: And the Treasurer names these Persons, *St. John* and *Moore*, who, he says, cheated the publick of above 20000 *l.* This Expedition to *Canada* he loads poor *St. John* with also, as if he had not enough to answer for, besides a Pittance of 20000 *l.* and the Loss of 1000 Lives, and 8 or 10 Ships.

THE

The Treasurer in his Paper says, one Thing, which I am satisfy'd all Parties will agree to be the truest Words he ever spoke in his Life; which is, that in 1711, *The Queen conferr'd undeserv'd Honours on Robert Harley*. Nay, he speaks Truth again; for mentioning his being made Lord Treasurer, he says, 'twas a Post much above Harley's Abilities to struggle with. But then he spoils all by the very next Words, and relapses into his old way of Talking, for he protests he had nothing in the World but Integrity to recommend him. I know very well that this same Harley is not in earnest when he speaks of his Deserts and Abilities, but then he is no more in earnest when he talks of his Integrity. So we must put it one against another.

I don't think that it is worth while to insist on what St. John and Moore, said, about cheating the Publick of 20000*l*. That no Government was worth serving, that would not let them make those Advantages; that would not let them get such Jobs; tho' the Chancellor told the Treasurer they said so in plain Terms. It had been a happy thing for these Nations, had those Two Managers got Jobs worth Millions, if we had been saved in the Treaty of Peace and Commerce. The Treasurer owns, that the 20000*l*. cheating Job, had been examin'd in Parliament, but he would not let it; that his Hands were full of Negotiating the Peace; and to shew what an excellent Observer of Men and Things he is, he tells us he met with great Difficulties from the Practices of Prince Eugene, in which the Emperor concurr'd. These Difficulties oblig'd her Majesty to make some new Peers; he does not say a Dozen, because he would then have told the errantest Untruth that had ever been told by Man, in saying, she took a Method which had been used before. If he can, out of his Histories find one Instance, that ever Half a Dozen of Peers were made in 24 Hours to serve a Turn, then he shall have my Word to get him back to Brampton Bryan, and spend the rest of his Days as Mareschal Biron bid his Son, in setting of Cabbages. He therefore minces the Matter, and only talks of some Peers. Do ye mind how he is tricking again? If three Peers are some Peers, good Mr. Robert, What are Twelve, according to your Logick? I shall not trouble my self with the Quarrels and Caterwaulings between Himself, St. John, Mrs. Masham, and others. p. 57. no farther, than observe, what an ungrateful Creature the Secretary was, to vent his Rage against the Queen for not making a Lord of him, when he would have had her, as the Treasurer informs us in the same Page; and how mad he was that he had not a Garter in the last Reign. It will be his own fault if he has not one in this. In the very same Page, the Treasurer brags that all the Merit of the late separate Peace belongs to him. During the whole Negotiation, the Treasurer was oblig'd by his own Hand, and his own Charge to correspond in all the Courts concern'd in the Negotiation; and very often he had the good Luck to set Right several Mistakes, and to obtain some Things very little expected. Tho' he is the most mysterious Man alive, yet I never thought he could drive his Mystery so far. What good Things did we get by the last Peace, which we ought to have very little expected; Some bad Ones we did get, as has been sufficiently prov'd already: But those unexpected Blessings are not yet discern'd. He adds, The only Merit of all this belongs to Her Majesty, the Credit of whose Favour brought it about, and gave Power to the Treasurer to act with Success, in obtaining those wonderful Advantages for us by the Peace. This is the Man who has so much Integrity, and so little Capacity.

The next important Affair he acquaints us with is, that the Lords of the Cabinet, who us'd to meet at his House on Thursdays, met afterwards on Saturdays at the same Place. This is very edifying: In their Cabals, among other Things was propos'd to attack former Offenders about the Thirty-five Millions which he cram'd into the Votes, and the Peculations he foisted into his Patent. He says, 'twas to quiet the Minds of the Church-Party. He assures the Queen, that the Commerce-Bill was not lost because it was ruinous to the Kingdom, but because some Gentlemen fear'd their Elections; and that he immediately after got in with Sir Thomas Hanmer, about Mortgaging the Civil List Revenue to raise Money to pay the Civil List Debts with Tin Tallies.

This

That was well thought of. And he tells us it made *Male-contented Minds in both Houses*. If by *Malecontents* he means the Friends to the *Protestant Succession*, as 'tis very probable he does, I must tell him, that tho' they expected a good Part of the borrowed Money would go towards Elections, and tho' they do believe that it went so accordingly, yet they were extremely well pleased to see how he blunder'd in the Management of the Matter, and made the Fraud appear so barefac'd as he did. How well St. John was dispos'd to serve the Pretender, one may see by the Treasurer's being forc'd to write to him a Letter to put him in Mind of the Addresses of both Houses relating to him, which had no more effect on him than the Treasurer desir'd. And as for the 12000*l.* he receiv'd for the *special Services of the War*, and apply'd to his *private Use*, p. 59, 93, 94. What need one do any thing more than mention it? Every thing of that kind is very credible, and I cannot think there is a Man in *Britain* who is able to judge of the Treasurer and his Conduct, that imagines Twelve Times Twelve Thousand Pounds did his Business. This Sum, tallies so exactly with his *some Peers*, that if one had a Mind to Pun, one might value them to him at 1000*l.* per Head, which is *some Money*. It is impossible to read any Writing of this Gentleman's and not be Merry. One may say of him as was said of Sir *Anthony Crabtree*, that he makes every melancholy Man merry, and every merry Man melancholy; for that is his true Character.

Having had Occasion frequently to mention the famous Speech made the 6th of June, containing the *Articles of Peace* which were promis'd to be communicated to the Parliament; I beg leave to set some Passages of Letters, Memorials, &c. over against them, that the Reader may himself judge of their Agreement.

In the Speech containing the Terms of Peace, made the 6th of June, 1712.	Mr. Secretary St. John's Letter to Monsieur Torcy, the 6th of June.
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I.

I Am now come to let you know
upon what Terms a general
Peace may be made.

I.

THO' the King of France has
" not answer'd the Queen's
" Demands according to Expecta-
" tion; the Queen will not defer
" going this Day to Parliament,
" &c.

II.

The Difficulties had been in-
creas'd by other Obstructions, art-

II.

" The Ministers receiv'd but the
" very Day before, an Account,
fully

fully contriv'd to hinder this Great and Good Work.

" That King Philip had consented
" to the Renunciation, for which
" only this Speech had been de-
" ferr'd.

III.

I have not omitted any Thing which might procure to all our Allies what is due to them by Treaties, and what is necessary for their Security.

III.

" Secretary St. John writes to
" Torcy the same Day, That our Plenipotentiaries had Instructions to join openly with those of France, and give Law to the Confederates.

IV.

Nothing has mov'd me from readily pursuing in the first Place the true Interest of my own Kingdom.

IV.

" A Fortnight before this, the 24th of May, the same Secretary writes to Monsieur de Torcy, That the Queen had been much more intent upon the general Peace, than any particular Advantages; and that Commissaries should afterwards settle the Point of Trade.

V.

To prevent the Union of the Two Crowns, I wou'd not be content with what was Speculative, but insisted upon something Solid.

V.

" Monsieur de Torcy writes to
" Secretary St. John, To accept of the Expedient propos'd, is to build on a Sandy Foundation.

VI.

The Nature of the Proposal for a Renunciation is such, that it executes it self; and France and Spain are more effectually divided by it than ever.

VI.

" Torcy to St. John again, This Renunciation will be null and void by the Fundamental Laws of France; and they will deceive themselves who accept of it as an Expedient to prevent the Union of the Two Crowns.

What is said of Settling our Trade of Newfoundland, Nova Scotia, the Commerce to the Spanish West-Indies, is all of a Piece, or rather worse in the Comparison with the Fact; and as one cannot question, but this Speech was entirely the Work of the Treasurer, Secretary, &c. so are they only answerable for all the Mistakes in it, whether Voluntary or Involuntary, with respect to the Speaker. The same is to be said of their putting into the First Speech about the Peace, "That the States General had readily concurr'd to open the Treaty of a General Peace, and express'd a Confidence in Her Majesty"; which Concurrence was only shewn by the strongest Representations against Mesnager's Proposals; and their sending over Mr. Buys, on purpose to prevent the Opening a Treaty on that Scheme as was done. How they were threaten'd and bully'd into a Compliance, has been seen in the preceeding Pages. It was the same Minister or Ministers that put into the same Speech a Promise, "That Her Majesty would unite with the Allies in the strictest Engagements for continuing the Alliance. And again, "That Care should be taken of all the Allies, and Her Majesty would join with them in the strictest Union": Again, "My Plenipotentiaries have begun, in pursuance to their Instructions, to Concert the most proper Ways of procuring a just Satisfaction to all in Alliance with Me, according to their Treaties, and particularly with Relation to Spain and the Indies". Again, "I should be sorry any One could think I would not do My utmost to recover Spain and the Indies from the House of Bourbon". We have shewn, That Mr. Prior's first Instructions were to get full Powers from King Philip, as King of Spain; and I suppose there is no Body by this Time who wants to be informed, that there is not one Step of this Negotiation of Peace, but what was clandestine and Separate, with Respect to England and France; yet did the late Ministers insert in a Speech from the Throne, "The World will now see how Groundless those Reports are which have been spread Abroad by Men of Evil Intentions, to serve the worst Designs, as if a Separate Peace had been treated, for which there has not been the least Colour giv'n": Witness these Presents.

FINIS.



